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Drifts, shifts and career ladders
career agency and gender in academia

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Drifts, Shifts, and Career Ladders:

Career Agency and Gender in Academia

by

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Abstract

This thesis revolves around the debates surrounding the contextual turn in career research. Focusing on the careers of academic women at State University Business School in Finland and University College Business School in England, this research explores the conceptualisation of career agency in research analysis. Building on the tenets of practice-based studies, this research proposes a conceptual framework that explores how the context and conditions of career agency emerge at the intersection of the organisation of academic work, the expectations placed on academic work, and the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity. The analysis draws on the concept pair of authority and career capital. While authority directs attention to the organisation of academic work by exploring how authority places academics in certain relationships with each other and their activities based on a certain legitimation, career capital revolves around the expectations placed on academic work and how engagement in academic work results in cultural, social, and economic career capital. Gender, meanwhile, is assessed by exploring how the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwines with the context and conditions of career agency.

The findings suggest that while femininity is described as an active stance at State University Business School, University College Business School is characterised by a feminine–masculine dichotomy, in which the competitive and individualistic formulation of masculinity is perceived as detrimental to inclusion. However, it is not gender *per se* that causes divisions amongst academics. In fact, those who engage in academic work that generates income for the community might not be able to accumulate the kind of career capital that is required for promotions or recruitments, especially since the expectations stemming from managerial authority seem to underpin what is expected from an employable or promotable academic.

Thus, the empirical analysis in this thesis highlights how the conditions of career agency emerge in a certain organisational setting, and shows how career agency can be addressed within career studies while retaining a gender perspective.

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List of abbreviations

AWT Annual working time system

GCA General Collective Agreement

USS Universities Salary System

MBR management by results

RAE/REF Research Assessment Framework / Research Excellence Framework

RAE Research Assessment Framework

REF Research Excellence Framework

CHAPTER ONE
IN THE OLD DAYS, THEY GAVE US PERSIAN RUGS. NOWADAYS, WE HAVE A PUBLICATION PIPELINE

It was a workshop about gender, organised by a business school with national prestige. The main building stood in the upper-middle-class neighbourhood; it had red brick walls, a high ceiling, and large windows with wooden frames. However, the lift was not very effective; it carried only two people comfortably. Perhaps the notions of accessibility and inclusivity might not have been associated with higher education when the blueprints for the building were drafted.

The workshop started in a room with wood-panelled walls and Persian rugs on the floor. A small side table was filled with table flags given as tokens to mark important occasions and relations. A row of paintings depicted men in suits. Their smiles were firm, and whoever they were, their club did not include women. Women entering the room were post-docs, doctoral students, and project researchers, whereas the workshop had been organised by professors who were prominent in their respective fields. One of the participants commented on the interior, "the rugs are lovely - but the men in the portraits are not really in line with the topic of our

workshop". "It was the only room available this morning, so we just have to tolerate them", one of the organisers replied. The workshop started and the day was spent listening to presentations and commenting on each other's work. After the workshop, there was a small gathering with wine and snack organised in a social area for staff. It had a sofa, a table, a small kitchenette and a whiteboard with a golden frame – the publication pipeline. The pipeline was divided into three columns that were titled writing, review, and published. Under each title was a list of book chapters and journal articles with the writers' names placed neatly in rows.

"You have a publication pipeline?" I asked one of the students I had chatted with earlier that day. "Yes, it's our Foucauldian approach. You can follow how the projects are progressing" she replied. "Actually, it's convenient because you can track the projects that don't progress" another student added. "In fact, that one needs to be moved," she continued and moved one of the journal articles from under review to the published ones. I sipped my wine and looked at the publication pipeline. Not a portrait exactly but at least women were included in this game.

When I penned the first version for this vignette, I focused on how a publication pipeline had replaced the portraits. Referring to the feminisation of academia (Leathwood and Read, 2008), I noted how women are increasingly entering spaces – previously dominated by men – while the conditions of academic work are being exposed to neoliberal and managerial regimes. Although the women were not included in the portraits, the publication pipeline welcomed everyone, and I pondered how the diverse forms of audits, measurements, and rankings intersect with the prevailing gender regimes. However, when I returned to the vignette after a few years, I noticed how my initial focus on walls did not necessarily capture every nuance. On a second look, my attention turned to the women and their actions. Instead of being intimidated by the portraits or the publication pipeline, it was the academics themselves that chose to embrace the Foucauldian approach to their work.

Unwittingly, I had stumbled on one of the enduring questions in career studies: do careers result from institutional frames or are they a product of individual activity (Inkson et al., 2012). To a certain extent, this question is related to career as an inherently multidimensional perspective to social inquiry. Initially, the career studies focused on the contexts and structures under which careers emerge whereas the emphasis has been more on the individual experience and abilities from the 1990s onwards (Clarke, 2013; Iellatchitch et al., 2003; Barley, 1989; Van Maanen, 1977). More recently, calls have been made for a contextual turn in career studies that would draw attention to the diverse contexts and conditions under which careers currently emerge (Inkson et al., 2012; Gunz et al., 2011).

The observation of career studies being characterised as focusing on either structures or individual experience is also applicable to the academic career research conducted in the field of higher education studies. As academic careers are often addressed in conjunction with academic work and profession research, multi-country surveys provide a vast body of literature that explores how academics respond to changes in their external and internal environment (e.g. The Academic Profession in Europe: Responses to Societal Challenge, Fumasoli et al., 2015; Changing Academic Profession conducted in 2007-08, Teichler et al., 2013; Carnegie study on the academic profession in the 1990s, Boyer et al., 1994). The individual dimension is perhaps best captured in the body of work that draws on the notion of academic identity (Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013; Hakala, 2009; Archer, 2008a; 2008b; Henkel, 2000). While academic careers are not necessarily at the forefront of this body of literature, it draws attention to how academics respond to and cope with the contradictory expectations placed on their work (Clarke and Knights, 2015; Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013; Hakala, 2009; Archer, 2008a; 2008b). This body of work points out that, while academic values and critical stances remain robust (Archer, 2008a; 2008b; Hakala, 2009), there are indications of individualistic careerism and the polarisation of academics into those who thrive and those who do not under the current conditions of academic

work (Clarke and Knights, 2015; Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013).

In the context of academic careers, gender often provides an additional critical lens that brings attention to issues of exclusion from academia (Bailyn, 2003). Depending on the perspective, research that focuses on gender in academia draws attention to women's experiences of explicit discrimination (Bagilhole, 1993a; 1993b) and the subtle ways in which masculine presentations (Fotaki, 2013) or organisational cultures (Katila and Meriläinen, 1999) place women as outsiders in academia. Another perspective is provided by the body of work that draws attention to how apparently gender-neutral terms and activities, such as excellence, meritocracy, and networking (Van den Brink and Stobbe, 2014; Bagilhole and Goode, 2001), tend to give priority to those who can exhibit qualities and characteristics often associated with masculinity (Van den Brink, 2010). While these studies are highly relevant in revealing the hidden ways in which gender inequalities emerge and are sustained in academia, academic women, such as the ones in the vignette, do not form a unified group. Generational differences, academic hierarchies and different life- and career stages cause subtle and more obvious differences in how the women are positioned in academia (Fritsch, 2016; 2015; Lund, 2015; 2012; Pritchard, 2010). Moreover, as women and their actions in the vignette suggest, there is a witty agent (Lykke, 2010) that navigates through diverse contexts.

The careers of academic women can be seen to capture the tensions in career studies. While academic organisations as career contexts clearly have not necessarily treated women favourably (Fotaki, 2013; Van den Brink, 2010; Katila and Meriläinen, 1999), there are also those who have also succeeded (Parsons and Priola, 2013; Sang et al., 2013). As career research focuses on ''the relationship between people and the providers of official position, namely, institution or organisations, and how these relationships fluctuate over time' (Arthur et al., 1989: 8), the careers of academic women provide an interesting case to explore how to capture and

conceptualise these relationships. Thus, in the following section, I set out the scene for this research by briefly mapping out how the conditions of academic work and careers have changed in Finland and England and how women have entered academia, after which I present the research questions.

1.1 Setting out the scene for the research questions

The rationale for focusing on these two country contexts is two-fold. First, there are differences in how the university sectors in Finland and England have changed and been exposed to external steering (Teichler et al., 2013). Second, Finland and England have their differences in how women have entered academia and how they are currently positioned across academic ranks and employment contracts (HEFCE, 2017; Statistics Finland, 2016; Husu, 2000; Bagilhole, 1993a). In this context, Finland represents a case where a previously centrally controlled and homogenous university sector is purposefully steered towards increasing diversity and competition (Tirronen and Nokkala, 2009). This distinguishes Finland from England, as the English university sector is characterised by institutional autonomy and diversity, as well as increasing complicity with audits and evaluations (Brown and Carasso, 2013; Shattock, 2006). This subsequently affects the conditions of academic careers.

The existing research from the Finnish context shows how increasing institutional autonomy has concurred with the implementation of management by results (MBR) to university funding (Kallio and Kallio, 2014). Universities' public funding is based on a core funding model in which education, research, and other education and science policy consideration are rewarded based on their impact, quality, and internationalisation. In practical terms, impact, quality, and internationalisation are measured in terms of the number of Masters' and Bachelors' degrees, peer-reviewed publications, and international visits (Kallio et al., 2016; Kallio and Kallio,

2014). As there are no tuition fees for home and EU-students, academic research has been exposed to diverse markets (Ylijoki et al., 2011) to cover the rest of the income. There are indications that some appear to thrive while others do not under current conditions of academic work (Lund, 2015; Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013).

In contrast to Finland, where diversification and increasing institutional autonomy are relatively recent developments, the English university sector has always been characterised by institutional autonomy. However, one of the paradoxes in the English higher education context is that while the public funding for universities has decreased, the complicity with audits and evaluations that focus on the different dimensions in academic work has increased (Brown and Carasso, 2013; Shattock, 2006). The underpinning assumption is that quality audits and the exposure to market logic will enhance the productivity and efficiency of higher education delivery (Ferlie et al., 2008). The expansion of the university sector from the 1990s onwards has resulted in a highly diverse sector, as the former teaching institutions and polytechnics are currently placed next to red brick civic universities or intuitions with medieval origins (Brown and Carasso, 2013; Farnham, 1999). In this context, academics are often assigned to their respective career trajectories based on their main roles (Locke et al., 2016; Locke, 2014; Strike, 2010), whereas the career moves, both vertical and horizontal, depend on the ability to deliver desirable outputs (Locke at al., 2016; Strike and Taylor, 2008; Harley et al., 2004).

Along similar lines with regard to the changes in conditions of academic careers, there are historical differences in how women gained access to university education and entered the academic profession. Women in Finland gained access to higher education in 1901, and already by 1908 21.4% of students were women (Statistics Finland, 2016; Husu, 2000). Nevertheless, the relatively early advancements did not result in a critical mass that would have changed the gender ratios in the academic profession. In 1980, the percentage of women in diverse positions

ranged from 6.7% for professoriate to 28.2% for junior lecturers (Luukkonen-Gronow and Stolte-Heiskanen, 1983). However, the proportion of women has increased significantly since the 1980s. The percentage of women ranges from 44% for researchers to 61% for lecturers at the time of data collection in 2015 (Vipunen, 2015a). The exception in this trend is the professorial level. In 2015, 28.8% of all professors were women (Vipunen, 2015a).

In contrast to Finland, t the increase of women in both the student body and academic staff is a relatively recent development in England. The percentage of women postgraduate students was around 31.2% in 1982-83, which subsequently reflected the proportion of women faculty in 1996-97 when 30% of full-time academics were women (HESA, 1998; Universities' Statistical Record, 1983). Moreover, the feminisation of higher education did not sweep across the whole university sector in one go. Instead, there are indications that women did cluster not only in early-career positions but also in newer and less prestigious institutions in the 1980s (Bagilhole, 1993a). While the situation has changed, women are more likely to work in teaching-only roles or in part-time contracts, and the distribution of women across academic ranks resembles the infamous scissor curve pattern (HEFCE, 2017). At the time of interviews in late 2014 and early 2015, the proportion of women in senior roles varied between 39% of senior lecturers to 24% of the professoriate; the percentage of women lecturers and research assistants was approximately 48% and 49% (HEFCE, 2017).

While there are differences between Finland and England in how women have entered academia and how they are positioned across the field, certain similarities are evident when the focus is on the causes behind gender discrepancies. The studies from the Finnish context have drawn attention to negative attitudes towards academic women and their research (Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993), to organisational cultures that place academic women in certain roles or relations (Lund, 2015; Katila and Meriläinen, 1999), and to the difficulties female PhDs experience in a male-

dominated setting (Kantola, 2008). These observations are not necessarily entirely uncommon in the English context. Fotaki (2013) notes how women are framed as outsiders in male-dominated academia, whereas the works of Bagilhole (1993a; 1993b) provide a revealing perspective on how good women have been kept down in the UK in the 1980s. Attention is also given to the gender division of labour in academia (Morley, 2003; 2005), and women's experiences in academic leadership (Read and Kehm, 2016; Priola, 2007).

While the existing studies have provided a valuable insight into how allegedly gender-neutral organisations reproduce gender inequalities, one of the puzzles that has received less attention is the witty agent (Lykke, 2010) and how it manages to navigate through changing working conditions. Ultimately, while there are indications of polarisation amongst academics (Lund, 2015; Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013; Locke et al., 2016), the number of women in academia has increased even at the highest ranks (Vipunen, 2015a; HEFCE, 2017; HESA, 1998; Luukkonen-Gronow and Stolte-Heiskanen, 1983). Thus, to address this puzzle, I utilise the notion of career agency as a starting point for my research inquiry (Tams and Arthur, 2010). However, as I point out in Chapter 2, I reject the individualistic framing of agency. Instead, I direct my attention to the context and conditions of career agency and present a conceptual framework that is based on the tenets of practice-based studies. However, before I turn my attention to the theoretical underpinnings and conceptual framework, I set the questions in the following section.

1.2 The research questions

In a previous section, I point out how both the conditions of academic work as well as women's proportion in academia are in flux in Finland and England. Thus, I take the careers of academic women at State University Business School located in Finland and University College Business School in England as cases to explore the careers of academic women have been shaped by

these changes. Thus, this research sets out to answer the following main question:

How do the careers of academic women emerge and are sustained at State University Business School and University College Business School?

As I point in the previous section, the notion of career agency is a starting point for my research inquiry. While Tams and Arthur (2010: 630) understand career agency as 'a process of work-related social engagement, informed by past experiences and future possibilities through which an individual invests in his or her career', I shift away from individualistic framing of agency. As I discuss in the following section, I take engagement in academic work as an entry point for addressing the context and conditions of career agency. By context, I refer to the organisational setting in which academic careers emerge, whereas the conditions of career agency explore how engagement in academic work results in career capital in a certain organisational setting. Thus, I divide my main question into three sub-questions. The first two focus on the context of career agency and the conditions of career agency, and the third question explores how gender interconnects with these two. Thus, the first sub-question is as follows:

1. How does the organisation of academic work define State University Business School and University College Business School as organisational career contexts?

The rationale for focusing on the organisation of academic work is that it allows me to map out the differences between the two career contexts. To address this question, I employ the principles of practice-based studies (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011) to propose the concept of authority. As I discuss in more detail in the following section, I understand authority as emergent from a set of practices that places academics in specific relationships with each other and their activities based on certain legitimation. Thereby, authority draws attention to the

underpinning legitimation according to which academic work is organised while showing how the two career contexts are linked with the wider field.

After establishing the context of career agency, I focus on the conditions of career agency in the second sub-question. Thus, I set out to answer the following question:

2 How does engagement in academic work result in economic, social, and cultural career capital at State University Business School and University College Business School?

While the first sub-question focuses on the context of career context, the second sub-question draws attention to the conditions of career agency. To address this, I draw on the concept of career capital (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011; Iellatchitch et al., 2003; Inkson and Arthur, 2001; Arthur et al., 1999). However, rather than exploring how individuals invest their careers, I focus on the conditions under which engagement in diverse dimensions of academic work accumulates into economic, social, and cultural career capitals. Thus, I shift away from individualistic framing of career agency and the attention is on the conditions of career agency.

In the third and final sub-question, I turn my attention to gender and aim to address the following question:

3. How does the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity shape women's engagement in academic work and subsequently academic careers at the State University Business School and the University College Business School?

While I do not reject that the observations that indicate how diverse practices and arrangements privilege masculinity in academia (Parsons and Priola, 2013; Van den Brink and Stobbe, 2014;

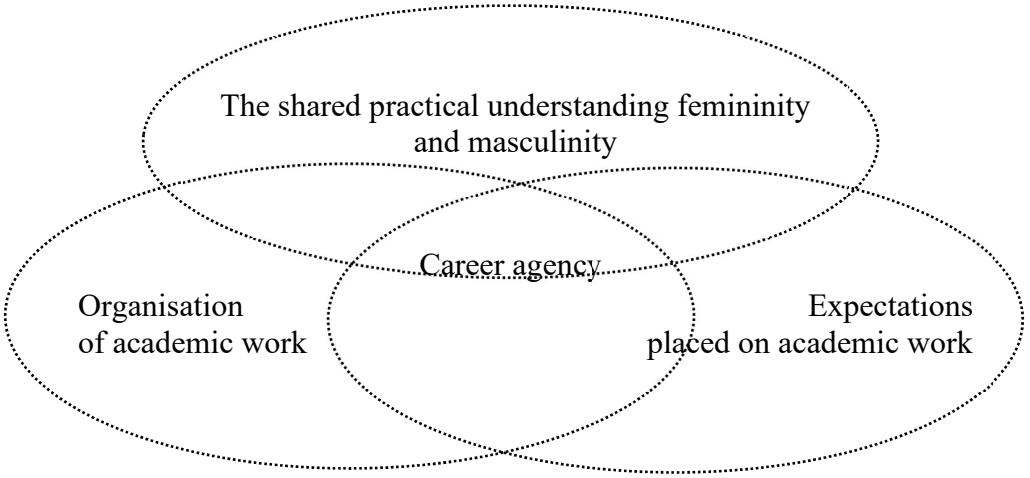
Priola, 2007; Benschop and Brouns, 2003), I maintain that the feminine–masculine division might not be able to capture how career agency emerges in certain organisational settings academia. Thus, I emphasise the interconnection between gender practices and other ongoing practices (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2014; Van den Brink, 2010; Martin, 2006; 2003). Therefore, my third research question directs attention to how the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwines with the organisation of academic work and the expectations placed on academic work.

1.3 Theoretical underpinnings employed in this research

In the previous section, I set out my principal question and the three sub-questions. As I point out above, I take engagement in academic work as an entry point for the research in exploring how the context and conditions of career agency emerge in certain organisational settings. To address the context and conditions of career agency I draw on the principles of practice-based studies (Nicolini, 2012; Gherardi, 2009; 2006). Therefore, in this section, I discuss briefly the tenets of practice-based studies (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011) after which I set out the conceptual tools used in this research inquiry.

Feldman and Orlikowski (2011: 1241) summarise the tenets of practice-based studies into the following three theoretical positions:'1) that situated actions are consequential in the production of social life; 2) that dualisms are rejected as a way of theorizing; and 3) that relationships of mutual constitution are important'. Drawing on these theoretical positions, I base my research inquiry on the understanding that the diversification in career trajectories occurs through a dual process in which individuals are positioned either as females or males based on the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity while engagement in working practices accumulates into status and competence differences (Bruni et al., 2005; Gherardi,

Figure 1.1 Career agency at the intersection of gender, the organisation of academic work, and the expectations placed on academic work



2006). To capture this dual process, I take the organisation of academic work and what is expected from it as an entry point to observe the context and conditions of academic career agency, whereas my gender analysis explores how the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwines with the context and conditions of career agency. As Figure 1.1 shows, career agency emerges at the intersection of the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity, expectations placed on academic work, and the organisation of academic work. To address this nexus, I present the conceptual tools of authority and career capital and a conceptual definition of gender, based on the principles of practice-based studies.

Gender – positions and frames individuals and their actions as feminine and masculine based on the shared practical understandings of femininity and masculinity.

My understanding of gender draws on the formulation of gender proposed in Van den Brink and Benschop (2012b: 87), which frames gender as ‘a dynamically situated social practice that

operates in various structural and cultural academic contexts'. In contrast to authority, which draws on the notions of legitimacy and legitimation, the shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity is not constant but fluid and changing (Martin, 2003). While I frame gender as a practice that contributes to the positioning of the individual according to the locally shared understanding of gender (Bruni et al., 2005), relationships emerging from gender practices are not fixed but fluctuate and change across the field and over time. Thus, I emphasise the potentiality and intertwinement of gender practices. In other words, I mean that I depart from the approaches that prioritise the feminine–masculine division in research analysis (e.g. Acker, 1990; West and Zimmerman, 1987). Instead, my analysis starts by mapping the 'structural and cultural academic contexts' of gender practices (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012b: 87) after which it explores how these, in conjunction with the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity, shape career agency. To explore the context of gender practices, I draw on the conceptual tools of authority and academic career capital. While the former addresses the organisational context of career agency, the latter focuses on the conditions of career agency.

Authority – captures the organisation of academic work by drawing attention to how academics are positioned in relation to their colleagues and their activities.

The notion of authority allows one to address the local conditions of career agency. As I draw on the principles of practice-based studies, I understand authority emergent from a set of practices and the consequences of practices that place individual academics in particular relationships with each other and their activities. In my terminology, I draw on Clark's (1986) work on a comparative approach to higher education systems. Clark (1986: 107) understands authority as one of the essential elements of organising higher education system and defines it as 'broad patterns of legitimate power'. While my conceptualisation of authority has a reference

to power, it is not understood it as an oppressive relationship. Instead, power relations emerge as individuals are positioned in relation to each other and their work, which shapes action and the ability to act (Watson, 2017). Hence, I align with what Gherardi (2009: 118) calls 'the third reading of practice'. My analysis does not only map out sets of practices that result in authorities placing academics in particular relationships with each other and their activities but also enquires what the consequences of practices for practitioners are (Gherardi, 2009). In contrast to the concept of career capital, which draws on the Bourdieusian framing of career capital as constituted of economic, social, and cultural capital (Iellatchitch et al., 2003), the notion of authority does not rely on a predefined frame. Instead, I align my analysis with the tenets of grounded theory to conceptualise the legitimation for the organisation of academic work.

Career capital – addresses the conditions of career movements within a specific context.

In my conceptualisation of career capital, I combine elements from two existing conceptualisations: competency-based (Inkson and Arthur, 2001; Arthur et al., 1999) and Bourdieusian (Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer, 2011; Iellatchitch et al., 2003). In my conceptualisation of career capital, I understand career capital as emergent from accumulated labour (Bourdieu, 1986); however, I depart from the Bourdieusian framing of career capital in how career context is defined. In contrast to the framing of career field as a semi-autonomous social context (Iellatchitch et al., 2003), I understand the career field as continuous. In other words, I do not draw a conceptual division between micro and macro levels but perceive the career field as a continuum that extends from an organisational context to the wider fields (Nicolini, 2012).

In contrast to the notion of authority, which I frame as an exploratory concept, my formulation of career capital draws on pre-existing conceptualisation proposed in Iellatchitch et al. (2003)

and Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer (2011). I adopt this stance to further the comparison between the two cases. Along these lines, I understand academic career capital constituted by economic, social, and cultural capital, which I perceive in line with Bourdieu's (1989) definition of capital as emergent from engagement in academic work. Therefore, for academic work to accumulate into field-relevant career capital requires an acknowledgement from other actors in the field (Iellatchitch et al., 2003). Building on this understanding, academic career capital captures how expectations-placed academic work furthers, hinders, or concurs with career movements.

Because of my conceptual framework and the underpinning principles of practice-based studies, this research adopts a holistic approach to career research. In other words, neither career agency nor career contexts can be addressed by drawing on dichotomies or divisions. Reflective of this stance, this research requires a methodological framework that does not rely on dichotomies or conceptual divisions in research analysis. This, subsequently, means that quantitative research design is out of the question. In the following section, I turn my attention to my research methods and discuss how I addressed my research puzzle and understand the relevance of my research inquiry.

1.4 Methods used in this research and the significance of this research inquiry

In the previous section, I point out how I position my research in the field of practice-based studies to address the careers of academic women from a career agency perspective (Nicolini, 2012; Tams and Arthur, 2010). While practice-based studies tend to align with ethnography (Gherardi, 2012), and Van Maanen (2015) endorses ethnography in career studies, I depart from this and draw on the frame of a holistic multiple-case study (Yin, 2014). As this research sets out to compare two country contexts, a holistic multiple-case study provides a more focused

approach to data collection than ethnography. Moreover, as my theoretical underpinnings of practice-based studies reject dualism as a way of theorising, the frame of holistic multiple-case study fulfils this precondition, as it focuses on the explored phenomena as a whole (DePoy and Gitlin, 2016).

Within the framework of a case study, I collected documents and conducted 15 interviews at State University Business School and ten at University College Business School. The interviews took place in two periods, from late 2014 to January 2015 and from March 2015 to April 2015. However, the focus of this research started to shift during data collection. As I point out in the beginning, I was initially intrigued by the changing decor and how women were increasingly entering rooms that were previously reserved for men. The initial decision to focus on the careers of academic women in business schools was based on the observation suggesting that business schools operate currently in a highly competitive field (Wedlin, 2011; 2006). However, as I point out elsewhere (Jönsas, 2019), my initial assumptions turned out to be somewhat misguided. Instead of being entirely managerialised, University College Business School had retained collegial and inclusive ethos. Moreover, as the research addressing journal fetishisms and market orientations is often conducted in the UK context, it focuses on a rather particular setting in which the research audits and student surveys feed into the diverse league tables to mark the business schools' desirability as a study destination (Wedlin, 2011; 2006; Willmott, 2011). Thus, this body of work did not resonate with the situation at State University Business School.

As the focus this research shifted during data collection, data-analysis is divided into two periods. First, drawing on the tenets of explanation testing (Yin, 2014), I revised the initial issues from university governance and gender regimes to concern academic work and finally to career capital. After narrowing the research focus on certain conceptual ideas, I drew on

methods from grounded theory to develop conceptual descriptions that capture the differences and similarities between the two cases (Yin, 2014; Halaweh et al., 2008; Charmaz, 2006). While the combination of case study and grounded theory is not necessarily common, there are examples in information systems research in which grounded theory is used in the analysis phase (O'Connor, 2012; Halaweh et al., 2008). To avoid unnecessary methodological contradictions and inconsistencies in my research analysis, I use a case study as my primary method whereas I draw on grounded theory to complement my research analysis.

While the combination of case study with the principles of grounded theory could be seen as a methodological solution, it also shapes how I communicate my research results and address the question of the relevance of this research inquiry. Reflective of the primary method of case study, the research results are organised in the form of a case story (Flyvbjerg, 2006) in which the differences and similarities between the two cases are captured under conceptual definitions. This, subsequently, sets limitations for how the research results can be generalised. Instead of providing context-independent knowledge that can be generalised beyond the two case, the relevance of this research emerges from analytical generalisation (Yin, 2014; Firestone, 1993). In other words, the contribution is the set of conceptual tools that address the context and conditions of career agency and the demonstration of why the feminine–masculine dichotomy should not be prioritised in research analysis when focusing on career agency.

1.5 Overview of the thesis

Before I conclude this chapter in Section 1.5, I provide an overview of my thesis in this section. In broad terms, this thesis has two sections. The first establishes the conceptual and empirical background, theoretical underpinnings, and methodology for this research enquiry while the latter part focuses on empirical analysis. I discuss the empirical and conceptual background for

this research concerning academic career research in Chapter 2. In contrast to claims that empirical research on academic careers is scarce (Van Balen et al., 2012), it has received considerable attention in diverse fields. To keep the discussion coherent, I take career agency as an entry point and explore how agency is addressed in the existing research, after which I map out how the conditions of academic work and careers both in Finland and England. In Chapter 3, I turn my attention to gender. As in Chapter 2, I examine how the existing conceptualisations address agency after which I attend to the empirical contexts of my research and discuss how the position of women in academia has changed both in Finland and England.

The main argument in Chapters 2 and 3 is that although the existing conceptualisations focusing on academic careers and academic women have their merits, they are limited when the focus is on women's career agency. In Chapter 4, I propose a conceptualisation of gender that is based on the principles of practice-based studies and a conceptual frame in which the context and conditions of career agency are analysed drawing on the concepts of career capital and authority. In Chapter 5, I move my attention to the methodology, and I discuss the application of a case study method to career-research, and how I combine elements from grounded theory with a case study frame.

Chapter 6 starts the second part of the thesis that focuses on empirical analysis. To keep my discussion coherent, I divide the empirical analysis into three chapters. The first one focuses on the authorities organising academic work, the second one on the career moves and career capital, and the third addresses gender. Chapter 6 maps out the context of career agency by discussing the organisational layers around and within the business schools, after which I draw on the concept of authority to explore in more detail how academics are placed in relation to each other and their activities. In my analysis, I point out how academic work at State University Business School is organised in accordance with bureaucratic, professorial, and managerial

authorities whereas collegiate, professional, and managerial authorities provide the underpinnings for the organisation of academic work at University College Business School.

Chapter 7 furthers the empirical discussion by mapping out the conditions of career agency. I start by identifying the general patterns in the interviewees' careers after which I draw on the concept of career capital to explore how engagement with diverse dimensions of academic work results in economic, social, and cultural career capitals. I finalise my empirical analysis in Chapter 8 by exploring how the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwines with the context and conditions of career agency. In Chapter 9, I answer the research questions and discuss the relevance of this research inquiry by showing how the conceptual framework proposed in this research provides new venues for further work in the fields of career and gender studies. In Chapter 10, I turn my attention to the practical implications and address the limitations of this research before concluding this thesis with a personal reflection.

1.6 Conclusion: It began with Persian rugs and ended with a publication pipeline - but how about the women?

At the start of the chapter, the vignette illustrates how the conditions of academic careers have changed as a publication pipeline has replaced the Persian rugs. While I initially attempted to contrast the managerial stance with that of an academic one, and how these two stances intertwined with gender regimes, this research has undergone significant shifts since it began. The current focus emerges from my reading of career studies as a multidimensional perspective to social inquiry. These tensions are captured in the definition of career as a Janus-faced concept (Barley, 1989) that pays attention both to social contexts in which careers emerge and to experiences in that context (Arthur et al., 1989). Another tension revolves around the question

of whether careers are an organisational phenomenon or a result of individual agency (Inkson et al., 2012). While academic career research in the field of higher education studies do not necessarily draw on career theories, there are similar divisions. Studies have brought attention to, on the one hand, the structural changes in academia (Fumasoli et al., 2015; Teichler et al., 2013; Boyer et al., 1994), on the other hand, how these changes are experienced by individuals (Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013; Hakala, 2009; Archer, 2008a; 2008b; Henkel, 2000).

In the context of this research, the notion of career agency (Tams and Arthur, 2010) is my entry point. However, rather than understanding individuals as rational careerist (Arthur et al., 1995), I turn my attention to the context and condition of career agency; consequently, I respond to the calls for a contextual turn in career studies (Inkson et al., 2012; Gunz et al., 2011; Tams and Arthur, 2010). To achieve this, I propose an approach to career agency that is based on the principles of practice-based studies (Nicolini, 2012; Gherardi, 2006). The reliance on practice-based studies, subsequently, shapes how I address career agency and gender in my research analysis. However, before I discuss how I am going to combine gender and career agency into a coherent framework, I start by setting out the empirical and conceptual context for my research. Hence, the following chapter addresses the question of how agency reflects inherent tensions in the field of career studies – and how these tensions are also applicable to higher education research focusing on the conditions of academic work, profession and careers (Fumasoli et al., 2015; Teichler et al., 2013; Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013; Hakala, 2009; Archer, 2008a; 2008b).

CHAPTER TWO
ACADEMIC CAREERS AND THE QUESTION OF AGENCY

In the previous chapter, I begin by noting the starting point for my research: on the one hand, the changing conditions of academic work and career, and on the other hand, the ways in which gender intertwines with these conditions. In this chapter, I map the conceptual and empirical background for my research. As others have provided reviews in diverse areas of career studies such as protean careers (Gubler et al., 2014), trends in career concepts (Akkermans and Kubasch, 2017; Baruch et al., 2015), and the roots of career theory (Moore et al., 2007), this chapter focuses explicitly on career agency. Thus, I set out to answer the following two questions: *How is career agency addressed in the existing research focusing on academic careers? How has the current context academic work and careers emerged in Finland and England?*

My discussion is organised as follows. I start by pointing out how the question of agency lingers in the field of career studies in Section 2.1, after which I turn my attention to the existing research focusing on academic careers in Sections 2.2, 2.2.1, and 2.2.2, to identify how the question of agency is addressed in the current literature. In this context, terminology varies in certain ways. For example, some refer to 'scientific' or 'research' careers (Lam and de Campos, 2015; Laudel and Gläser, 2008), whereas others use the notion of 'academic' careers (Dany et

al., 2011). The difference is that scientific and research careers can emerge outside the university sector (Valette and Culié, 2015), whereas academic careers, by definition, are located within universities and can emerge from engagement with teaching and administration, as well (Dany et al., 2011). As my focus is on conceptual frameworks, I draw on academic, scientific, and research-careers studies. After discussing how agency is addressed in the existing research, I detail the empirical background for my research by explaining how the current conditions of academic work and careers have emerged both in Finland and in England, in Sections 2.3 and 2.4. After discussing the empirical context for this research, I conclude this chapter in Section 2.5. As the data collection for this research took place in late 2014 and early 2015, the statistics discussed in this chapter focus on academic year 2014–15, and I limit the literature review to studies published prior to 2018. The reason for this is that the conditions of academic work are constantly changing. Therefore, the more recent studies direct attention to issues, such as the Teaching Excellence Framework (Gunn, 2018), that were not present when this research took place.

2.1 Career research and the tensions inherent in career studies

While the concept of career agency has provided a framework to address international careers (Guo et al., 2013), academic or scientific careers (Lam and de Campos, 2015), and the contradictory expectations Sri Lankan women face in career enactment (Fernando and Cohen, 2014), it is not amongst those concepts that have been approached in a systematic manner (Tams and Arthur, 2010; Baruch et al., 2015). This is not to say that the issue of agency is left untouched in the existing research focus. On the contrary, the question of agency tends to linger in discussions revolving around ‘old’ and ‘new’ careers, which in this context are understood as contrasting career models or career paradigms (Arthur et al., 1995). In this context, the division between old and new careers captures the fundamental tensions in career research that

revolves around the question of 'whether careers are mainly the product of institutional frameworks or of individual agency' (Inkson et al., 2012: 327). Thus, in this section, I briefly explain the differences between old and new careers; the rationale for discussing these differences is that academic careers are claimed to have elements both from old and new careers (Enders and Kaulisch, 2006).

The distinction between old and new careers can linked to wider societal changes in employment relations. In the 1980s and the early 1990s, it was assumed that organisational restructuring, downsizing, and outsourcing would change employment conditions to the extent that long-term careers would be replaced by a series of contractual engagements (Clarke, 2013). This assumption is captured by the 'employability doctrine', which places the responsibility of employment on the employee (Cappelli, 2000). This shift is captured in two contradictory career models or paradigms, often referred to as old and new careers. While the former emphasises organisational hierarchies and stability, the latter revolves around individual agency and mobility (Clarke, 2013; Arthur et al., 1995). In this context, a bureaucratic career provides an ideal model, in a Weberian sense, of old careers (Kanter, 1989), as it emerges from 'a logical sequence of work-related events and experiences' and emphasises 'hierarchical progression and development'(Adamson et al., 1998: 252-253).

In contrast to old careers, new careers assume that careers should be addressed without predefined hierarchies and that emphasis should be placed on subjective perspectives (Hall, 2004; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996). On a conceptual level, this shift is captured in frames such as a protean career placing the individual in charge of career choices (Hall, 2004; 1996), kaleidoscopic careers (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005), and the theory of boundaryless careers (Arthur, 1994). The central tenets of new careers are captured in the formulation of the boundaryless career. Arthur (1994) maintains that boundaryless careers revolve around the

following six emphases or meanings: moves across organisational boundaries, the validation of careers by outsiders rather than the current employer, the reliance on extra-organisational networks in career management, diminished organisational hierarchies, the prioritisation of personal reasoning when selecting career opportunities, and the subsequent emphasis on the actor rather than structural constraints in career analysis (Arthur, 1994). As Arthur (1994: 296) notes, all six points of emphasis centre on 'independence from, rather than dependence on, traditional organizational career principles'.

While the notion of boundaryless careers addresses the interplay between the individual and provider of positions, it places the career-makers' values and abilities at the forefront of research analysis (Arthur et al., 1999). This stance is also adapted in the concept of the protean career, which assumes that careers are driven by individuals (Hall, 2004; 1996), whereas the notion of kaleidoscopic career emphasises authenticity, balance, and change in career-making (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005). In contrast to old careers, these concepts place the individual career-maker in the forefront in research analysis, which results in a conceptual frame in which careers are perceived as the property or creation of a career-maker rather than an organisational phenomenon or feature.

One of the critiques of the new careers is overemphasis on individual agency (Inkson et al., 2012). This critique is captured in Duberley et al.'s (2006b: 282) observation of how 'the tendency to separate individual agency and social structure leads to reductionist understandings that fail to account for the complex interplay between these dimensions'. Roper et al. (2011) note how boundaryless career literature concurs with neoliberalist discourses, and subsequently, furthers the creation of neoliberal subject positions. While there have been calls for a contextual turn in career studies (Inkson et al., 2012; Tams and Arthur, 2010), there is no widely agreed upon solution or unifying career theory that would address the interplay between

individual agency and social context (Baruch et al., 2015; Tams and Arthur, 2010). One strand of work draws attention to career boundaries and boundary-crossings (Gunz et al., 2007), and Inkson et al. (2012) suggest the application of boundary theory to create the boundary-focused career scholarship. Gunz and Mayrhofer (2017) propose a social chronology framework which combines spatial, ontic, and temporal perspectives on career inquiry. On the other hand, Jeong and Leblebici (2019) present a typology of four career models in which the intersections of professionalisation and organisational diversity result in the following career models: organisational form-based, profession-based, individual agency-based, and profession–organisation-based.

While each of the approaches has their merits, they do not obviously amount to a coherent approach. Dany (2014) claims that career studies concur with what Alvesson and Gabriel (2013) label as formulaic research that results in extreme specialisations and a tendency to avoid conceptual development, but I am hesitant to make such strong statements. Instead, I maintain that diversity in perspectives is inherent in career studies. This diversity is captured in the widely cited definition of career research put forward by Arthur et al. (1989: 8), in which they conclude that 'the study of careers is the study of both individual and organisational change (Van Maanen, 1977) as well as of societal change'. While Gunz and Peiperl (2007: 4 emphasis original) place '*the effect on people of the passage of time'* as a central concern in career research, I emphasise further that career research treats individual, organisational, and societal change in an equal manner. Subsequently, career as a perspective to social research directs attention, on the one hand, to the social contexts of career-making, and on the other hand, to individual experience in that context (Iellatchitch et al., 2003; Barley, 1989). This attention results in a field of research in which the central concept is inherently multidimensional – as the focus can be on individuals and their capabilities or structures and career contexts.

The understanding of careers from a multidimensional perspective in social inquiry produces a situation in which careers can be framed either as emerging from organisational frameworks or as a product of an individual agency (Inkson et al., 2012). Drawing on this understanding, the division between old and new careers can be understood to reflect the two contrasting sides inherent to career studies. Thus, the fundamental tenets that career research must resolve are whether to emphasise one dimension over others, whether or how to interlink the various levels with each other, and moreover, whether to emphasise objective or subjective perspectives in research analysis (Van Maanen, 1977). Thus, it might be that there will never be a unifying theory that can conceive all dimensions of career studies as one coherent approach.

Multidimensionality is also present in studies focusing on academic careers, as depending on the perspective, academic careers exhibit both old and new career principles (Enders and Kaulisch, 2006). The individual dimension is captured in a study based on 21 in-depth interviews conducted with tenured business professors and on 13 further interviews with other faculty (Dowd and Kaplan, 2005). Based on their analysis, Dowd and Kaplan (2005) conclude that academics exhibit both bounded and boundaryless career orientations. In this context, the differences in career orientations are captured in how the interviewees conceive their identities. While those who exhibit bounded career orientation base their identities either on the institutions or their professional roles as a teachers or researchers, those with boundaryless career orientation concur with the determination of their identities based on disciplinary or personal expertise (Dowd and Kaplan, 2005).

While Dowd and Kaplan do not entirely reject the framing of academic careers as boundaryless, Dany et al. (2011), drawing on 75 face-to-face interviews with academics working at two large French universities, point out that career choices are bounded by promotion models and scripts. As such, they note the limitations of the boundaryless career theory as it is unable to capture

how structural constraints continue to shape career choices (Dany et al., 2011). Similarly, the consequences of structural constraints on academics are captured in the experiences of 30 internationally mobile British academics (Richardson, 2009). Rather than embracing the independence of international mobility, Richardson (2009: 168) concludes that international academic careers are characterised by 'the tension between the science context and the national and institutional contexts of academia' that must be addressed by academics themselves.

These observations clarify that academic careers have both organisational and individual dimensions (Siekkinen et al., 2017). Academic careers studies thus share fundamental questions with the wider field of career studies, namely whether to frame academic careers as products of organisational activities or the result of individual actions (Inkson et al., 2012). Thus, in the next section, I turn my attention to existing research that focuses on academic careers. I focus on the following four approaches to explore how they address interdependencies in academic careers from the perspective of career agency: academic identities (Hakala, 2009; Archer, 2008a; 2008b; Henkel, 2000), identity trajectories (McAlpine et al., 2014), the neo-institutionalist framing of scientific careers as three interrelated trails (Laudel and Gläser, 2008; Kaulisch and Enders, 2005), and career scripts (Dany et al., 2011; Duberley et al., 2006a).

The rationale for focusing on these four approaches is that they start from individual experience, and subsequently, they focus on a specific dimension of academic careers or the conditions of academic careers. The subsequent discussion thus draws attention to how academics position in relation to certain ideals (Hakala, 2009; Archer 2008a; 2008b; Henkel, 2000) become academics (McAlpine et al., 2014), make sense of their careers and career opportunities (Dany et al., 2011; Duberley et al., 2006a), or reveal the mechanisms behind career moves (Laudel and Gläser, 2008; Kaulisch and Enders, 2005). Thus, the four approaches provide an overview of different interdependencies in academic careers, and subsequently, shed light on how agency

is perceived in academic career research.

2.2 Career agency and agency in academic careers

Career agency has no widely agreed upon definition. To my knowledge, the only two examples of works undertaking such a definition are Lam and de Campos (2015) and Tams and Arthur (2010). Lam and de Campos (2015: 815) divide career agency 'as comprising three elements: objective (socio-relational), subjective (socio-cognitive) and projective (temporal orientation)'. This conceptualisation embeds agency in a certain temporal and relational context in which socially constructed selves and orientations 'interact within relational contexts to shape agentic orientations and behaviours' (Lam and de Campos, 2015: 815). Tams and Arthur (2010: 630), on the other hand, understand career agency as 'a process of work-related social engagement, informed by past experiences and future possibilities, through which an individual invests in his or her career'. While these two definitions differ in terms of elaboration, they share an understanding of career agency as something that emerges at the interface of a fading past and an emerging future; consequently, the questions of how these two are conceptualised and interlinked with the individual become points of interest.

To address the question of interdependency in career-making, Tams and Arthur (2010) suggest six perspectives that can be approached both as independent and as interdependent: individual variation, learning, practice, outcome, social referencing, and context (Tams and Arthur, 2010). Career agency can be observed in terms of biographic differences or culturally shaped identities when focusing on individual variation, whereas the emphasis on learning perspective draws attention to individual learning or socially constructed learning. A focus on practice perspective attends to individual acts or collective and situated practices, while approaches focusing on outcomes emphasise objective career outcomes or outcomes emerging in certain fields. Social

Table 2.1 The framing of career agency in research focusing on the conditions of academic work and careers, organised by following the perspectives proposed in Tams and Arthur (2010)					
Type of agency		Examples in literature	Conceptual frame	Description of agency	Questions addressed
Individual capacity	Individual variation	Henkel (2000) Archer (2009) Hakala (2009) Harley (2003)	Academic identity	Positioning in relation to certain ideas or structural conditions	The consequences of macro-level changes for academics and academic profession
	Learning	McAlpine et al. (2014) McAlpine and Amundsen (2011) McAlpine (2016)	Identity trajectory	Emergent capacity to orient and respond	Socialisation into academic work, and the subsequent ability to orient and respond
Embedded agency	Outcomes	Gläser, and Laudel (2015) Laudel and Gläser (2008) Kaulisch and Enders (2005)	Interrelated career contexts	Shift in career stages	Mechanisms behind the shifts in career stages
	Social referencing	Duberley et al. (2006a) Dany et al. (2011) Ylijoki and Henriksson (2017)	Career scripts	Complicity with or departure from predefined scripts	The interplay between structural contexts and sense-making or mapping out the career choices in those contexts
	Practice	Duberley et al. (2007) Duberley and Cohen (2010) Angervall and Gustafsson (2014)	Career capital	Ability to position in relation to others within a career field	How engagement with work activities, or career investments furthers movement in a career field

Table 2.1 The framing of career agency in research focusing on the conditions of academic work and careers, organised by following the perspectives proposed in Tams and Arthur (2010) (continues)					
Type of agency		Examples in literature	Conceptual frame	Description of agency	Questions addressed
Organisational dimension	Context	Pietilä (2015; 2017) Herbert and Tienari (2013)	-	As a form of existence located in a certain temporal and spatial space	The focus is on external conditions or practices under which shape career trajectories

referencing draws attention to personal motivations and priorities and how these are impacted by circumstances, while context perspective relates to objective external contexts or interrelated contexts in which context and agency intertwine (Tams and Arthur, 2010).

In the subsequent discussion, I divide the research focusing on academic careers and the conditions of academic career-making into three main groupings, based on how agency is framed and how the body of literature is organised, following the classifications offered by Tams and Arthur (2010). As table 2.1 shows, the main groupings are agency as an individual capacity, agency as embedded within a conceptual frame, or agency as an organisational dimension. Each of these groups is divided further in accordance with Tams and Arthur's (2010) perspectives. Agency as an individual capacity is divided further into approaches that focus on variation or learning, whereas agency as embedded includes outcomes, social referencing, and practice perspectives. However, I depart from Tams and Arthur (2010) in the division of each perspective into independent or interdependent variations, because such a division fragments the discussion unnecessarily. I leave the frames drawing on practices purposefully untouched in this chapter. Instead, I return to them in Chapter 4, in which I detail the concept of career capital. Thus, Section 2.2.1 addresses the approaches that understand

agency as an individual capacity and revolve around individual variations and learning, and Section 2.2.2 attends to frameworks which understand agency as embedded.

2.2.1 Agency as an individual capacity: Variations in positioning or learning and becoming in academic

One of the key discussions in addressing agency in academic career-making revolves around academic identity or identity trajectory (McAlpine et al., 2014; Hakala, 2009; Archer, 2008a; 2008b; Henkel, 2000). While this body of research does not necessarily centre on career studies, the notion of identity is not that unfamiliar in the field of career research. Instead, there is a vast body of research that builds on the concept of career identity (LaPointe, 2010; Meijers, 1998) whereas another branch of research focuses on the notion of identity in addressing career development (Meijers and Lengelle, 2012). While there are not necessarily cross-references between the diverse bodies of research revolving around the notion of identity both in career and academic career research, there are certain similarities on a conceptual level: that is, how socially constructed identities and professional memberships emerge and how there are variations in those identities and positioning (Tams and Arthur, 2010).

Reflective of wider traditions in identity research, McAlpine et al. (2014) note the differences between European and US research, since in studies focusing on academic identities conducted in European contexts, attention is paid to structural conditions and how these shape identity formations (Henkel, 2000). Reflective of the European tradition, Henkel (2000) frames academic identities as constructed within the institutions or communities of a discipline and within academic organisations, placing them in the frame of the idealist-pragmatist spectrum. Their positioning within the spectrum depends on how academics position themselves in relation to a discipline or academic profession. While idealists base their existence on their

discipline, pragmatists prioritise the academic profession and the prestige to attached academic titles (Henkel, 2000).

Although subsequent studies have not relied on the idealist-pragmatist spectrum in their analysis, there is a tendency to draw on the concept of identity as a conceptual device to explore how academics position themselves in relation to specific ideals, communities, and institutions. Given this line of argument, agency is expressed in terms of prioritising certain values and attitudes over others. Fernando (2018) shows how, in contrast to assumptions of increasing individuality in academia (Clarke and Knights, 2015), the attempt to display good characteristics still prevails amongst senior lecturers in the UK context. Similarly, Archer (2008a) and Hakala (2009) conclude that early-career academics both in Finland and the UK exhibit a strong commitment to academic values, even though the conditions of academic work are increasingly exposed to certain forms of neoliberalism and the marketisation of academic activities.

While research drawing the notion of academic identity provides a valuable frame to explore the consequences of macro-changes on academic identity and the subsequent agency of academics, an ongoing longitudinal research programme that began in Canada in 2006 draws attention to the interplay between socialisation and identity formation (McAlpine et al., 2014; McAlpine and Amundsen, 2011). Based on this ongoing research programme, McAlpine et al. (2014) propose the concept of identity-trajectory to address accumulating experience and how early-career academics rely on their experience when navigating their careers. In short, identity trajectory emphasises learning from experience and the subsequent ability to redirect action (McAlpine et al., 2014; McAlpine and Amundsen, 2011).

To address the emerging ability to navigate, McAlpine and Amundsen (2011) bring attention

to the following dimensions of academic socialisation: intellectual, networking, and institutional dimensions. Intellectual trajectory refers to contributions to one's field, which McAlpine et al. (2014: 943) describe as 'publications, citations, papers and curriculum materials'. Networking is referred to as 'inter-personal and inter-textual' (McAlpine et al., 2014: 943); consequently, the definition of a network extends from the realm of personal relations to networks acquired through reading existing work. The institutional strand, on the other hand, draws attention to institutional resources, which in this context are understood to extend from material resources to institutional responsibilities (McAlpine et al., 2014). As identity-trajectory encompasses three dimensions, it is not placed in between the academic and managerial stances (e.g. Hakala, 2009; Archer, 2008a). Instead, identity-trajectory results in a subject that orients her actions based on her previous experiences. Consequently, identity-trajectory can be seen as an exemplary framework for scrutinising career agency from a learning perspective (Tams and Arthur, 2010).

While I fully acknowledge the relevance of identity in career studies (Van Maanen, 2015), my major concern relates to Brubaker and Cooper's (2000) observation that identity incorporates both soft standings emphasising fluidity and constructedness and hard stances stressing sameness and sharing. In the case of academic identity, the hard stances emphasise assumed sameness amongst academics which emerges from a share 'traditional' understanding of academic values (Fitzmaurice, 2013; Hakala, 2009; Archer, 2008a); the soft stance emphasises that academic identities are 'expanding and proliferating' and thus robust (Clegg, 2008: 343). Paradoxically, it is the combination of soft and hard framings that provide a point of criticism of the conditions of academic work, as attention is placed on individual variations and strategies within assumed sameness. This attention is present already in Henkel's (2000) initial formulation of academic identity, as she places academics within the idealist-pragmatist spectrum. More recent studies assume an implicit understanding of academic profession or

standing as opposed to managerial one (Clarke and Knights, 2015; Archer, 2008a; 2008b). This assumption is captured in observations pointing out how some academics surrender to academic careerism while others are able to resist it (Clarke and Knights, 2015) or how academics exhibit diverse forms of labour of love or embrace academic values while being complicit with a neoliberal vision of academic work (Clarke et al., 2012; Archer, 2008a). However, the observations of resistance and resilience in academic values are not necessarily characterised as positions having the power to promote change within their surroundings.

To a certain extent the limitations of how identity addresses agency are related to how it is defined and conceptualised in research inquiry; that is, the emphasis is on individual capabilities and abilities. In the case of identity-trajectory, agency is described as an emergent ability to direct one's action, while academic identity understands agency as an ability to position or manoeuvre in relation to certain ideals. Unwittingly, this understanding can result in the framing of academics as victims of managerialism, subsequently concealing the fact that the division between managerial and academic stances is not necessarily so simple (Tight, 2014; Musselin, 2013; Kolsaker, 2008). As I discuss in Sections 2.3 and 2.4, academic careers are shaped by both academic and managerial considerations (Locke et al., 2016; Välimaa et al., 2016); consequently, the inability to acknowledge how these two intertwine with each other is a crucial disadvantage. While this criticism is not necessarily directly applicable to the research drawing on the concept identity-trajectory because of the differences in the research questions addressed, the framing of agency as an emergent ability results in an atomistic description of academia in which individuals are unable to mobilise resources to promote change. Thus, while both conceptual frameworks present valuable lenses through which to observe how individuals change or manoeuvre in specific contexts, they are somewhat limited when the focus is on organisational contexts themselves.

2.2.2 Agency as embedded: The mechanisms behind career outcomes and making sense in career-making

In contrast to approaches that frame agency as individual capacity, embedded agency emphasises interdependency and contextuality explicitly in career-making. Thus, the conceptual framework focuses on a certain dimension with that embeddedness. As I summarise in Table 2.1, the works of Laudel and Gläser (2015; 2008) can be placed among studies focusing on career agency in terms of outcomes, as the emphasis is on mapping out the mechanisms behind certain outcomes (Tams and Arthur, 2010; Laudel and Gläser, 2008). This emphasis contrasts that of Duberley et al. (2006a) and subsequent studies drawing on the concept of a career script (Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2017; Dany et al., 2011). In this area of research, agency is framed as a kind of social referencing, which draws attention to how individuals understand their careers under certain structural conditions (Tams and Arthur, 2010; Duberley et al., 2006b). Still, while the focus is on subjective and individual perspectives, there is an element of influence, and changes such as subtle shifts, deviations, and variations in careers scripts amount to organisational or institutional changes (Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2017; Duberley et al., 2006a).

In their conceptual paper, Kaulisch and Enders (2005: 132) endorse the application of neo-institutionalism to address 'the institutional embeddedness of human agency in social structure', a stance that is also endorsed by Gläser (2001). In the subsequent empirical research, Laudel and Gläser (2008) conceptualise academic careers as emerging from three interdependent but interrelated careers: cognitive, community, and organisational (Laudel and Gläser, 2008). Drawing on bibliometric analysis and interviews conducted with 16 early-career academics from both hard and soft sciences, they point out how cognitive careers refer to the accumulative research trails emerging from engagement with scientific research (Laudel and

Gläser, 2008). The formulation of community careers draw on the notion of professional careers (Dalton et al., 1977); consequently, they are characterised by increasing independence and responsibilities, as academics shift from the position of apprentices to that of equal colleagues, followed by a shift from a responsible master to a paradigm-defining elite (Laudel and Gläser, 2008). Finally, an organisational career encompasses the material conditions of academic career-making, which emerge from movement across different settings (Laudel and Gläser, 2008).

When comparing the approach proposed by Laudel and Gläser (2008) with the approaches of other frameworks, a certain affinity can be noted between the three interrelated careers and the three trajectory strands of intellectual, networking, and institutional (McAlpine and Amundsen, 2011). Both cognitive career and intellectual trajectory strands refer to a research trail academics are assumed to leave behind. An institutional trajectory aligns with an organisational career, as both refer to material resources and conditions. However, the difference is in the scope of research. While the notion of identity-trajectory is concerned with one's ability to react and reorient one's actions (McAlpine et al., 2014), the neo-institutional approach is applied to reveal the underpinning mechanisms behind career trajectories (Laudel and Gläser, 2011; 2008). Thus, as career agency is described as outcomes emerging in certain fields, the neo-institutional focus is on revealing the mechanisms behind these outcomes (Laudel and Gläser, 2011; 2008; Tams and Arthur, 2010). Depending on the career context, outcomes vary, as do the mechanisms behind them. In the case of cognitive careers, movements draw on and result in an accumulation of research publications and citations, whereas organisational careers draw attention to how material resources, even immaterial dimensions such as prestige, further movements in organisational careers. Community careers, on the other hand, align with the underpinnings of professional careers (Dalton et al., 1970); consequently, the mechanisms behind career movements emerge from increasing responsibilities in relation to colleagues and

work activities (Laudel and Gläser, 2011; 2008).

The limitations of the application of neo-institutionalism, as proposed by Laudel and Gläser (2011; 2008), are related to wider concerns with institutionalism and its inability to address power relations and associated inequalities and exploitations (Munir, 2015). In his critique, Munir (2015) attaches this inability to the tendency of institutionalism to take hierarchies and power relations for granted, an observation that is applicable to the frame proposed by Laudel and Gläser (2011; 2008)., I maintain that neo-institutionalism's inability to address power relations in the context of career research is related to the division of career context into analytical sub-units. While this conceptual move is relevant to the revelation of diverse mechanisms that further career outcomes, it does not necessarily encourage us to explore how positioning and movements in one context further movements in other contexts. In the context of academic careers, there are indications that the career shifts are prompted by managerial attempts to ensure that the academic organisation features well in national research audits, as I point out in section 2.4 (Locke et al., 2016; Shore, 2008). These indications suggest that outcomes in academic careers are not necessarily defined by community, cognitive, and organisational contexts. Moreover, there is the managerial context that tends to overflow to all areas of academic work (Tight, 2014; Kolsaker, 2008). Thus, while mechanisms behind career outcomes in certain contexts might follow a certain logic or principle, career outcomes themselves are a sum of diverse logics.

In contrast to neo-institutional framing addressing outcomes, the strand of studies drawing on the notion of career scripts (Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2017; Dany et al., 2011; Duberley et al., 2006a) draws attention to social referencing in career-making. The roots of this line of work can be found in Barley's (1989) structuration model of careers. Reflective of the principles of structuration, the structuration model of careers rejects the division between action and structure

and frames these notions as a duality (Giddens, 1984). This argument posits that institutional and individual action and interaction are interlinked by career scripts which, in this context, are understood as 'interpretive schemes, resources and norms for fashioning a course through the social world' (Barley, 1989: 53). In this context, career scripts provide an entry point to address the interplay between career context and career-maker: how individuals make sense of the conditions of career-making and reorient themselves in relation to their goals.

Based on their analysis of 77 earth or agricultural research scientists that work in public laboratories or universities in the UK and New Zealand, Duberley et al. (2006a) identify five institutional contexts by which scientists orient their careers: science, profession, family, government, and national culture. These contexts each provide a frame for apt conduct and a set of positions for career makers. When exploring how research scientists managed their careers in these contexts, they rely on the following career scripts: organisational careerist, impassioned scientist, strategic opportunist, and balance seeker (Duberley et al., 2006a). In this context, career scripts provide career-makers with a frame for interpretative schemes, norms, and resources, which enables career-makers to orient themselves in relation to the institutions that comprise the career context in question (Barley, 1989). Consequently, the organisational careerist implicitly consults scripts that assess careers in terms of pathways provided by organisations, whereas the impassioned scientist draws on an understanding of science as a vocation to make sense of working life (Duberley et al., 2006a). The strategist opportunist, in contrast, adopts an active and strategic stance towards career-making, while the balance seeker stands for the themes that revolve around efforts to balance diverse activities (Duberley et al., 2006a).

While subsequent studies do not necessarily describe the underpinnings of structural institutionalism, they share an emphasis on social referencing, as they adapt to Duberley et al.

(2006a) by emphasising interpretations over macro-level analysis. This approach uses the notion of career scripts as descriptive tool to define possible or desirable careers (Valette and Culié, 2015). Dany et al. (2011) point out how promotion scripts in the French context shape academic career-making, for instance, whereas Ylijoki and Henriksson (2017) draw attention to the cultural resources by which early-career academics make sense of academic career-making in the Finnish context, characterised by precarious employment conditions. Agency is thus interlinked with certain structural conditions through sense-making and can be observed in instants in which individuals depart from predefined or assumed frames (Duberley et al., 2006a; Tams and Arthur, 2010). This is not to say that agency requires deliberations or conscious effort. On the contrary, as long as actions departing from career scripts are repeated multiple times, they amount into changes and shifts in career scripts and eventually to changes in surrounding institutions (Duberley et al., 2006a; Barley, 1989). Thus, the possibility of change sets studies applying career scripts apart from approaches that frame agency as an individual capacity.

The notion of a career script has not gone uncriticised. The existing criticism draws attention to the ambiguity between cognition and behaviour and the close relation of Bourdieu's notion of habitus (Valette and Culié, 2015). While these observations are valuable as such, one of the major concerns from the perspective of agency is the disregard for positionality. While there are references to how life and work situations and social positioning affect engagement with career scripts (Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2017; Duberley et al., 2006a), these references are not necessarily at the forefront in empirical analysis. One of the few exceptions, to my knowledge, is Valette and Culié (2015), who explicitly explore the relationship between social positioning and career scripts. Drawing on 42 interviews conducted with computer and nanotechnology scientists working in a research cluster framed as the French equal to Silicon Valley, Valette and Culié (2015) point out how those in the centre exhibit both boundaryless and organisational

career orientations in forms of entrepreneurial, organisational nomad, and organisational extension career scripts. These scripts contrast peripheral career scripts, which can be divided into cloister, escape, and conversion career scripts. Rather than emphasising mobility and movement within the research cluster, peripheral career scripts are characterised by feelings of being trapped or by contemplation of leaving the cluster (Valette and Culié, 2015).

While the research conducted on research scientists working in a research cluster is not directly applicable to academic careers, owing to the differences in the conditions of employment and career trajectories (Valette and Culié, 2015; Musselin, 2005), this research does highlight the relevance not only of positioning in sense-making in career-making but also of emerging agency. In the context of academic careers, positioning can be understood in terms of organisational affiliations, which approaches the social positioning raised by Valette and Culié (2015). The importance of organisational affiliations has been identified in empirical research from the US context. The study, drawing on a sample of 602 PhD graduates in business administration or management, indicates that a degree from a centrally located and prestige department and a highly ranked institution resulted in more rapid career progression, as compared to degrees from peripheral departments (Hadani et al., 2012). While these observations cannot be applied directly to other contexts, owing to the specificity of the US university sector, Blackmore and Kandiko (2011) observe that prestige plays a role in recruitment and promotion decisions. Building on this observation, one might assume that the affiliations, connections, and social networks deemed desirable by others offer further access to scripts that are otherwise unreachable. Van den Brink and Benschop (2014) point out that international networks are assumed to reflect academic excellence; consequently, those who can exhibit memberships with international networks are better positioned professorial recruits than are those without similar connections.

Aside from organisational affiliation, there is the position acquired through engagement with academic work. Kantola (2008) highlights how involvement with teaching, in the context of a political science department in a Finnish university, signals membership in an academic faculty and allows one to represent oneself as a legitimate political researcher. Another example can be found in Harney et al. (2014), who observe that contract researchers are disadvantageously positioned as knowledge workers, since the conditions of employment restrict access to further opportunities. Musselin (2013), on the other hand, observes that peer reviewing is often used to legitimise and depoliticise decisions related to research audits or academic benchmarking which empowers academic elites.

While the examples of academic elites or contract researchers are specific to particular contexts, they point to how engagement with certain activities furthers career opportunities, while other engagements reduce them. As I indicate in Section 2.4, academics in England are often assigned either as research and teaching or teaching-focused academics and placed in their respective career pathways (Strike, 2010). This assignment suggests that sustained engagement in a specific dimension within academic work can become a distinctive career trajectory. Thus, while the notion of career script provides a valuable frame by which to address the possible and desirable careers in certain contexts and how these possibilities are constrained by structural conditions (Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2017; Duberley et al., 2006a), it does not necessary encourage us to explore how positioning within the field inhibits or mediates structural constraints placed on career agency. In the end, as I point out in subsequent sections, academics are not a coherent, homogeneous group but are diverse in terms of their conditions of employment, career stages, and assigned roles.

2.3 Organisational perspectives – academic career system in transition in Finland: From precariat civil servants to precariat project researchers

In the previous sections, I explain the conceptual dimensions of career agency in terms of individual variation, learning, outcomes, and social referencing (Tams and Arthur, 2010). To further my discussion, I turn my attention to empirical contexts by mapping out the conditions of academic career-making in Finland and England. In Table 2.1, I place the subsequent discussion under approaches that consider career agency from perspective of context (Tams and Arthur, 2010). In contrast to previous sections, this body of literature does not share a certain conceptual standing but extends from HRM literature to career studies and higher education research (e.g. Siekkinen et al., 2017; Siekkinen et al., 2016; Herbert and Tienari, 2013; Hoffman, 2007; Välimaa, 2005). Grouping this body of literature by context might defy the original definition proposed by Tams and Arthur (2010). However, I maintain that academic careers emerge in specific temporal and spatial contexts; consequently, the mapping out of a career context is an essential part of research analysis, which cannot necessarily be achieved through a focus solely on research conducted with the field of career research. Thus, I start by briefly discussing the history of the Finnish university sector, after which I turn my attention to the conditions of academic career-making in Finland.

While the first Finnish university, the Royal Academy in Åbo (currently known as the University of Helsinki), was established in 1649, the expansion of the Finnish university sector took place over two periods in the 1900s. The first period occurred in between the early 1900s and the 1930s to assist nation building and the needs of the labour market and industrialisation; the second began in the late 1950s and lasted into the late 1970s and was characterised by the regional and the welfare principles (Välimaa, 2004; 2001a). As the regional and the welfare principles aimed to ensure equal access to higher education across the country, the Finnish

university sector was constituted by a total of 20 universities or similar institutions by the end of the 1980s (Välimaa, 2001a). As universities were a part of state administration, the university sector was purposefully kept homogenous, and competition between institutions was discouraged. This encouragement was noted in an OECD review in the early 1980s, which stated that 'it is by no means obvious whether the Finnish universities are to be numbered as seventeen or as one' (OECD, 1982: 61). Thus, while academics had academic freedom in matters of research, teaching, and administration, the use of funds was highly controlled by the Ministry, and the establishment of academic and administrative positions took place through a government budget procedure (Hölttä and Rekilä, 2003).

The initial period of growth meant an increase in academic employment opportunities, in particular, as university funding increased all the way through the early 1990s (Virtanen, 1999). Still, conditions of employment were not necessarily secure. While there are references to promotions in the existing research (e.g. Virtanen, 1999), tenure-track was virtually non-existent before the introduction of the four-stage research career structure as a policy framework in 2008. As Virtanen (1999: 68) remarks, the recruitment of young researchers during the expansion in the 1970s resulted in 'promotion blockages to the professoriate' in the 1990s. The blockages produced a situation in some disciplines where assistants were experienced researchers with the title of docent (Virtanen, 1999). As I point out in Table 2.2, the title of docent is granted by application to those who exhibit strong teaching and research skills. In this context, upward mobility depended on a suitable position becoming available, on having the required credentials, and on support from the right people (Hearn, 2003; Virtanen, 1999; Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993). However, as the legal framework explicated the conditions for recruitment and dismissals and as salaries were regulated by the collective bargaining agreement, the only rationale for moving to another university was an appointment to a higher position (Välimaa, 2001b; Virtanen, 1999; Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993). As a consequence, academics tend to pursue

their careers in the institution from which they received their first degree (Hoffman, 2007; Virtanen, 1999).

In contrast to a previously homogenous and centrally managed university sector, the current university system is purposefully steered towards diversification and competition, which have been promoted through structural and procedural reorganisations (Aarrevaara, 2012; Tirronen and Nokkala, 2009). One of the major shifts in the Finnish university sector took place in 2010, when the Universities Act of 2009 went into effect. The new act led to the abolishment of elected committees within departments, at the same time as institutional independence increased (Tirronen, 2014). However, one of longer developments has been the implementation of the management by results (MBR) principle to the university sector, which began in the mid-1990s (Kallio et al., 2016). It currently provides the basis of output-oriented university funding and can be seen to underpin the universities salary system (USS). As MBR emphasises results and achievement, each Finnish university and the Ministry of Education and Culture negotiate a performance agreement that states mutually agreed objectives and the level of funding for the subsequent three years (Välimaa and Neuvonen-Rauhala, 2008). To ensure the effectiveness of the performance agreement, university funding is tied to the university funding formula (Kallio et al. 2016). Similarly, MBR provides the underpinnings for the USS, which is currently based on two components: job requirements and personal performance (Kekäle, 2008). These components are summarised in Appendix 7.

Although, some of the changes, such as the abolishment of elected committees in subject groups and departments, have been abrupt and although others have been more gradual, such as the change in university funding, the implementation of a four-stage research career structure as a policy frame and the subsequent shift towards the tenure-track model have marked a sporadic

Table 2.2 The changes in the academic career structure in Finland			
The previous career structure		**The four-stage research career structures**	
Career stage and titles	**Degree**	**Career stages and titles**	**Degree**
Senior level Full professor Associate professor1 (Docent2)	PhD	Established researcher Professor Research director Associate professor (Docent)	
Middle level Lecturer Senior assistant	Licentiate3	Independent researcher University researcher Specialist researcher Senior lecturer (lecturer)	
		Postdoctoral stage Post-doc / University Lecturer	PhD
Lower level Assistant Research assistant	MA	Doctoral training University teacher Doctoral student Research assistant or intern	MA BA (MA)

Source: Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993: 22; Välimaa et al., 2016

1 The associate professor position was abolished in 1998, and all associate professors became full professors (Husu, 2007). Current associate professors are often placed in a tenure-track system, and thus should not be confused with previous associate professors.

2 The title of docent is awarded to those who demonstrate both excellent teaching and research skills. While this title does not result in an employment relationship between the degree-granting university and the title holder, it is associated with an established career stage.

3 The post-graduate degree of licentiate, which was previously required for middle-level positions, is not included to the current career structure (Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993; Virtanen, 1999).

process (Välimaa et al., 2016; Herbert and Tienari, 2013). Instead of increasing predictability in academic careers, the majority of academics in Finland work on temporary contracts, as Table 2.3 shows. Thus, while the four-stage research career structure suggests continuity and upward movement, it does not necessarily reflect the realities of career-making. Not surprisingly, Välimaa et al. (2016) note that tensions have emerged between what academics expect from their careers and the realities of career-making. Moreover, there are indications

Table 2.3 The distribution of academics in the universities salary system (USS) across job requirement levels and the type of employment contract in 2015

Career stage and job requirement level	Permanent contracts		Temporary contracts		In total	
Women	2131	28.2%	5415	71.8%	7546	100%
8–11 Established stage	515 (66.8%)	6.8%	256 (33.2%)	3.4%	771 (100%)	10.2%
5–7 Independent stage	1531 (40.5%)	20.3%	2249 (59.5%)	29.8%	3780 (100%)	50.0%
1–4 Early-career stage	85 (2.8%)	1.1%	2910 (97.2%)	38.6%	2995 (100%)	39.7%
Men	3030	30.7%	6847	69.3%	9877	100%
8–11 Established stage	1424 (74.5%)	14.4%	488 (25.5%)	4.9%	1912 (100%)	19.3%
5–7 Independent stage	1517 (38.0%)	15.4%	2471 (62.0%)	25.0%	3988 (100%)	40.4%
1–4 Early-career stage	89 (2.2%)	0.9%	3888 (97.8%)	39.4%	3977 (100%)	40.3%

Based on Sivistystyöantajat, 2015. The percentages are calculated and rounded up by the author. The numbers represented here depart from the numbers in Table 3.2, because certain employment contracts are excluded from the USS. In addition, the four-stage research career system and job requirement levels are not tied to each other, according to my knowledge. Thus, the divisions between the early, independent, and established stages reflect the author's understanding.

that academics are incentivised to adopt an entrepreneurial attitude towards career-making (Pietilä, 2017), whereas the recruitments for the tenure track have become a cause of tension in some universities, owing to discrepancies between organisational and departmental goals and agendas (Pietilä, 2015).

As Table 2.3 shows, 97% of both women and men in early-career stages were on temporary contracts in 2015 (Sivistystyönantajat, 2015). Competition in the early-career stage is related to the fact that numbers of researchers and doctoral students have continued to increase. One of

the factors in this increase was the establishment of graduate schools in 1995, which has created a reserve of project researchers who work under precarious conditions (Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2017; Pekkola, 2014; Pekkola et al., 2015). However, upward movement does not necessarily increase career security. While the percentage of permanent contracts does increase in the independent stage, over half of women and men at that stage remained on temporary contract in 2015. The only group whose contracts are mostly permanent are those in stages 8–11, corresponding to titles such as professor, research director, or research professor (Vipunen, 2017; Sivistystyöantajat, 2015).

Reflective of the precarious employment conditions, the academic career system in Finland can be categorised, as Ylijoki and Henriksson (2017) note, in alignment with the 'tournament' model. It is an academic career model in which multiple applicants apply for few available positions; consequently, the term 'tournament' captures how those at the top have endured multiple tournaments while others have either left academia or remained in temporary employment (Enders and Musselin, 2008; Musselin, 2005). Nevertheless, the realities of academic career-making are often characterised by shifts between teaching and research positions (Nikunen, 2014) rather than upward movement through tournaments. Siekkinen et al. (2016) note that the state of HMR in Finnish universities comprises a mixture of old and new HRM practices. While the recruitment for departmental positions, such as senior researchers and lecturers, follows an open-call procedure and aims for international interest, the recruitment for short, fixed-term contracts still occurs through unofficial routes (Siekkinen et al., 2016). This situation concurs with Välimaa's (2001b) observation about how the field of academic careers in Finland can be divided into two interlinked fields of temporary and permanent contracts that operate under different logics. While in the field of temporary contracts the main obstacles are finding the future contracts and making them last, the actual career building begins in the field of permanent contracts (Välimaa, 2005; 2001a).

Taking into consideration the high percentage of temporary contracts, and the precarity of academic careers, it is easy to concur with others that academic careers in Finland are risky projects (Pekkola, 2014; Nikunen, 2012). The unpredictability of academic careers is captured by Ylijoki and Henriksson (2017), who note that there were no references to long-term career plans in the three focus groups conducted with 12 early-career academics working in a Finnish university. Instead, they point out how career stories can be clustered into five categories (Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2017). In this context, the categories 'novice of the academic elite' and 'victim of teaching' emerge from the academic tribe tradition either through advancing knowledge or being good citizen in disseminating disciplinary knowledge through teaching. The 'academic worker', on the other hand, captures a proletarian career model in which career trajectories emerge from successive temporary teaching and research contracts. The 'research group member' and the 'academic freelancer' refer to market-driven academic career patterns in line with academic capitalism (Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2017). The common theme is that none of the career stories involves permanency.

The various career stories highlight how academic careers have been shaped by the marketisation of academic research, at the same time as the reference to academic tribes suggest that disciplinary affiliations have retained their value (Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2017; Ylijoki et al., 2011; Hakala, 2009). These contradictory stances indicate that discipline-oriented careers have not been entirely replaced by the new proletarian and academic capitalist career models. Reflective of the diversification of career stories, there are indications that academic identities are polarised into those who thrive under the current conditions and those who do not (Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013). While the existing research focusing on HRM practices (Siekkinen et al., 2017; 2016) and the four-stage research career structure (Pietilä, 2017; 2015; Herbert and Tienari, 2013) attend to the tensions between the old and new, there remains a need for an additional approach to attend to the practical side of diversification at the organisational level

and how external steering shapes academic career contexts. However, before I turn my attention to how to capture the influence of external steering on the academic career context in the following chapter, I discuss the ways in which the current conditions of academic careers in England have emerged.

2.4 Organisational perspectives – the diversification of academic careers in England: From selected elites to audited higher education providers

In contrast to Finland's university sector, the English university sector has always been characterised by institutional autonomy; the traditional ideal is self-governance done by a collegium of scholars (Locke and Bennion, 2011; Farnham, 1999). However, one of the paradoxes in English higher education is that decreasing public funding has coincided with increasing complicity with a regulatory frame constituted by research audits, student experience surveys, and more recently a teaching excellence framework (Oancea, 2013; Willmott, 2011). These changes are related to the shift in how the English university sector is steered. Rather than framing higher education as a public good and part of public service, it has been exposed to market regulation based on the assumption that competition between universities will enhance the effectiveness and efficiency in academic organisations (Brown and Carasso, 2013; Ferlie et al., 2008). Consequently, this regulation has resulted in a career context characterised by tensions between the diversification and massification of higher education and subsequent shifts in institutional missions (Brown and Carasso, 2013; Henkel, 2000). Thus, to unravel how these tensions have emerged, I start by mapping how the English university sector expanded from a highly exclusive and elitist university context to a massified and diverse higher education sector, after which I examine research focusing on academic careers and outline the conditions of academic career-making in England.

The roots of English universities can be traced to the 13th century when the first two institutions, Oxford and Cambridge, were established (Farnham, 1999). Since that time, the number of universities has continued to increase in England. The expansion of university sector occurred through multiple waves, as the old and new civic universities emerged by the 1950s, followed by the plate-glass universities after the Robbins Report in the 1960s (Farnham, 1999) The subsequent expansion of the university sector took place from the 1990s onwards. At this time, the expansion was achieved through the abolishment of the binary division in higher education provision in 1992, which gave the former, teaching-oriented, polytechnics a university status (Farnham, 1999). The Higher Education Act of 2004 made the smaller institutions without research degrees eligible for a university title (Brown and Carasso, 2013). As a result, there are currently over 120 universities and university colleges receiving public funding from the Office for Students in England (OfS, 2018).

As the current model places former teaching institutions next to universities with medieval roots, it is difficult to define the typical conditions of academic career-making in England (Locke et al., 2016; Locke, 2014). This difficulty is captured in the views on institutional resources, governance, and management, as well as in academics' experiences of regulatory expectations and overall job satisfaction (Locke and Bennion, 2011; Locke, 2008). The general trend is that academics in pre-92 universities tend to report higher job satisfaction than those academics who work in a post-92 or a post-2004 university (Locke and Bennion, 2011). To a certain extent, these differences can be related to changes in institutional missions and differences in institutional resources (Henkel, 2000). The replacement of teaching missions with a research orientation in post-92 universities has created feelings of loss for those who based their professional identity on teaching, while those trying to establish a research career in the post-92 institutions are sometimes restrained by the lack of institutional resources (Henkel, 2000).

Table 2.4 The academic career structure in England	
Career stages and titles	Degree
Established stage Professor Reader Mid-career Senior lecturer Principal lecturer Early-career Lecturer Post-doc	PhD
Based on Teichler et al. (2013)	

Considering institutional diversity, some wonder whether it is feasible to speak about a single academic profession in the UK context (Shattock, 2014). I am hesitant to make such claims. While it is clear that the conditions of academic career-making vary significantly, there seems to be a shared understanding of what academic careers look like. academic careers in England are closely connected to academic discipline, while the careers themselves are characterised by vertical movements between universities that are 'perceive[d] as having different relative status', as well as horizontal upward movement through academic ranks (Strike and Tylor, 2008: 194). As summarised in Table 2.4, the assumption is that people's academic careers are initiated when they are hired as post-docs or lecturers after their postgraduate studies. Moreover, while there are slight differences in academic titles between pre-92 and post-92 universities, as Table 2.5 shows, academic rank can be seen to reflect career stage. There are indications that career success is often measured against 'an implicit age-to-grade timetable' (Strike and Taylor, 2008: 194).

However, while there might be a shared understanding of how academic careers should

Table 2.5 Academic employment and academic function in England in 2014-15							
	In total	Contract type		Academic function			
		Fixed-term	Open-ended	Other	Teaching	Research	Research and teaching
In total	164875 100%	58870 35.7%	106005 64.3%	605 0.4%	42840 26.0%	39125 23.7%	82310 49.9%
Academic leadership	3950 2.4% (100%)	445 0.3% (11.3%)	3505 2.1% (88.7%)	120 - (3.0%)	290 0.2% (7.3%)	100 - (2.5%)	3445 2.1% (87.2%)
Professor	16555 10.0% (100%)	1355 0.8% (8.2%)	15200 9.2% (91.8%)	30 - (0.3%)	420 0.3% (2.5%)	635 0.4% (3.8%)	15470 9.2% (93.4%)
Senior lecturer Principal lecturer	23625 14.3% (100%)	1710 1.0% (7.2%)	21915 13.3% (92.8%)	85 - (0.3%)	2200 1.3% (9.3%)	1455 0.9% (6.2%)	19885 12.1% (84.2%)
Lecturer B, senior lecturer	45500 27.6% (100%)	6970 4.2% (15.3%)	38530 23.4% (84.7%)	150 - (0.3%)	7055 4.3% (15.5%)	5870 3.6% (12.9%)	32425 19.7% (71.3%)
Lecturer A, lecturer	54520 33.1% (100%)	32410 19.7% (59.4%)	22110 13.4% (40.6%)	115 - (0.2%)	24070 14.6% (44.2%)	20350 12.3% (37.3%)	9980 6.1% (18.3%)
Research assistant	20725 12.6% (100%)	15980 9.7% (77.1%)	4745 2.9% (22.9%)	105 - (0.5%)	8805 5.3% (42.5%)	10715 6.5% (51.7%)	1105 0.7% (5.3%)
Source: Hefce (2017). The percentages are calculated by the author. The percentages that are below 0.1 are marked as "-". The publication of staff statistic represented here was discontinued in 2017 because of the abolishment of Higher Education Funding Council for England in 2018.							

progress, Locke et al. (2016) note how a minority of their 62 interviewees in eight institutional case studies had followed the traditional pathway. Instead of following the traditional pathway from undergraduate studies to post-graduate studies and PhD research, followed by a post-doctoral stage and permanent employment through ensured lectureship, there were indications of not only disciplinary shifts but also periods of work outside academia either prior to or next to academic employment (Locke et al., 2016). While the sample size is not representative, it indicates that academic careers include shifts that depart from the anticipated route from PhD to the professoriate.

Additional evidence of discrepancies between ideals and realities is captured in Table 2.5. While the relatively high overall percentage of open-ended contracts indicates stable employment, this perception shatters when the focus moves to career stages and contract types. In 2014/15, the early-career stage is characterised by temporary employment. Almost 60% of lecturers were on a temporary contract, whereas over 84% of senior lecturers had permanent employment in the same period. While senior lecturers on permanent contracts (23.4%) constitute the biggest employment category across the whole sector, it is notable that lecturers on temporary contracts (19.7%) are the second largest group. Thus, Strike and Tyler (2008) observe that academic careers are often risky in the beginning but become more secure as academics progress to higher ranks. The percentage of temporary contracts falls below 10% amongst principal lecturers and professors, as I show in Table 2.5.

Next to temporary contracts, early-career positions tend to be more likely to be either research- or teaching-only roles than the established ones (HEFCE, 2017). As Table 2.5 indicates, 18% of lecturers had a research or teaching contract, which is in sharp contrast with senior lecturers, of which about 71% had a research and teaching contract, at the time of interviews in 2014/15. While the increase of teaching-focused faculty could be seen to reflect a shift in recruitment practice and attempts to pick up those with potential for becoming good teachers or who already have the required teaching skills (Brown, 2011), Locke et al. (2016) provide a more serious explanation. Instead of considering it a reflection of increased emphasis on teaching quality, they suggest that an increase in teaching-only contracts from 2012–13 and 2013–14 could be related to the submission of the Research Excellence Framework (REF) in December 2014. The increase reflects the attempt to enhance research intensity ranking by moving staff deemed "research inactive" to teaching-only contracts (Locke et al., 2016).

While there have emerged career trajectories for teaching or research-focused academics

(Strike, 2010), the diversification of academic career trajectories does not necessarily occur across academic hierarchies. As Table 2.5 shows, the percentage of teaching- or research-focused academics decreases at the senior lecturer level. The difference is most prominent at the professorial level, where 93.4% of academics are assigned to teaching and research roles, in contrast to the few teaching- or research-only professors (HEFCE, 2017). While the low percentage of teaching- or research-only academics in higher ranks could be interpreted as a sign of the strength of the traditional career trajectory in England, the reference to REF submission and subsequent increase in teaching-focused academics points out to how career outcomes in academia are not necessarily defined by academic considerations, as I note in Section 2.2.2. In the English case, the REF, previously known as the Research Assessment Framework (RAE), provides a practical example of how managerial considerations shape career outcomes. The RAE/REF is a national research audit conducted currently roughly every six years (Oancea, 2014); the first round was 1986, and the most recent, in 2014 (Thorpe et al., 2018). While there have been changes and adjustments in submissions, the RAE/REF relies on peer-review, and the outcome is a quality rating that is used in research funding allocations (Oancea, 2014; Barker, 2007). Reflective of the selective ethos, the funding is targeted to the top end of a star rating (Oancea, 2014).

While the RAE/REF is framed to 'reward excellence wherever it was found' (HEFCE, 2009), it has, unwittingly, framed academic research as means to ensure research grant allocations and favourable positioning in one of the UK-based university rankings drawing on the RAE/REF score (Shore, 2008; Bowden, 2000). This dynamic, subsequently, shapes the logic behind career-moves. Comparing the conditions of academic career-making in the UK with those of Germany, Harley et al. (2004) suggest that academic careers in the UK can be considered professional, shifting towards entrepreneurial, in accordance with Kanter's (1989) categorisation of careers as professional, entrepreneurial, and bureaucratic. Academic careers

in the English context could be captured previously in accordance with professional careers in which the increase in opportunities is related to one's skills and to acknowledgement from peers rather than to organisational rank (Kanter, 1989). Nevertheless, Harley et al. (2004) note that academic careers incorporate elements of the entrepreneurial career model. Rather than relying solely on professional acknowledgement, career progression is based on ability to produce valuable outputs (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996), which can in the English context be defined as 'refable' research outputs (Shore, 2008).

The consequences of research audits, such as the above mentioned REA/REF, and the marketisation of higher education are captured in studies drawing attention to academic careerism and contradictions in what academic themselves love in their work and what is accepted from them (Clarke and Knights, 2015; Clarke et al., 2015). At the same time, others note how academic values of authenticity and good citizenship have remained robust (Fernando, 2018; Archer, 2008a; 2008b). These observations suggest that academic careers emerge in a field characterised by contradictory expectations; these tensions are captured in the body of research drawing on the notion of academic identity (Henkel, 2000). The limitation in the line of research is the emphasis on individual variation, so less attention has been paid to the organisational context, as I point out in Section 2.2.1. As I conclude in Section 2.3, academic careers always emerge in specific organisational contexts that are exposed to external steering. To a certain extent, this observation applies to the English contexts as well, as academics and their work are subject to research audits and student surveys. Thus, the practical dimensions of how these expectations filter into departments and subject groups and are addressed in the organisation of academic work remain little explored. From the perspective of career research, this opens a valuable venue to explore how to bring the diverse dimension together.

2.5 Conclusion: Academic careers and the question of agency in career research

In this chapter, I consider how agency has been addressed in the existing research focusing on academic careers, and I outline how the current conditions of academic career-making have emerged in Finland and England. While the body of research that explicitly draws on the concept of career agency in the existing research is limited, the question of agency tends to linger in career studies. As I point out in Section 2.1, the question of agency in career research emerges from the discussion revolving around old and new careers which in this context are understood as contrasting career paradigms (Arthur et al., 1995). While old careers understand careers 'as mainly the product of institutional frameworks' (Inkson et al., 2012: 327) and directs attention to 'hierarchical progression and development'(Adamson et al., 1998: 252- 253), new careers maintain that emphasis should be placed on subjective perspectives (Hall, 2004; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996). In this context, academic careers can be seen to exhibit bot old and new career principles (Enders and Kaulisch, 2006).

Depending on one's view, career agency can be classed as an individual capacity or as embedded, as I summarise in Table 2.6. The individual dimension is captured in the body of research focusing on academic identities and identity trajectories (Fernando, 2018; McAlpine and Amundsen, 2011; Clegg, 2008; Henkel, 2000). While the former draws attention to individual variation in how academics are positioned in relation to certain ideals, the latter draws attention to learning and increasing competency to re-evaluate and orient one's

Table 2.6 The limitations in the existing conceptualisation focusing on academic careers					
Type of agency		Conceptual frame	Description of agency	Questions addressed	Limitations in addressing agency
Individual capacity	Individual variation	Academic identity	Positioning in relation to certain ideas or structural conditions	The consequences of macro-level changes for academics or academic profession	The inability to address how individuals might promote change in their surroundings Does not necessarily acknowledge the ambiguity in career-making; how managerial and academic stances intertwine with each other
	Learning	Identity trajectory	Emergent capacity to orient and respond	Socialisation into academic work, and the subsequent ability to orient and respond	
Embedded agency	Outcomes	Interrelated career contexts	Shifts in career stages	Mechanisms behind the shifts in career stages	The inability to address the interconnectedness of career contexts, and the lack of attention to power relations within academia
	Social referencing	Career scripts	Complicity with or departure from predefined scripts	The interplay between structural contexts and sense-making or mapping out the career choices in those contexts.	Heuristic application of concept does not attend to how positionality emerges and shapes access to career scripts in research analysis

actions (Tams and Arthur, 2010). The other strand of research revolves around what I call 'embedded agency'. In this context, the attention is either on mechanisms behind career outcomes (Tams and Arthur, 2010; Laudel and Gläser, 2008) or social referencing in the line of work drawing on the concept of career scripts (Duberley et al., 2006b). In other words, agency is described as emergent from or reflective of certain conditions; however, the focus is not on individual capabilities.

While each of the frames has its merits, each also has limitations, as I summarise in Table 2.6. In the case of approaches that frame agency as an individual capacity, one of the major concerns is inability to address change prompted by individuals and their actions and the lack of attention to how ambiguities in career context shape individual capabilities. The latter is also applicable to outcome-focused approaches, which are furthermore characterised by an inability to acknowledge power relations in academia. The research aligning with social referencing does not necessarily encourage the exploration of how positionality shapes ability to engage with certain career scripts. To my knowledge, Valette and Culié (2015) provide a valuable exception, as social positioning frames their research analysis.

While the criticism presented in this chapter can be brushed off by pointing out that career agency, as such, is not the focus of above-mentioned approaches, it highlights how studies focusing on academic careers and conditions of academic work share the same puzzle as the wider field of career research: whether careers are a result of institutional frames or individual action (Inkson et al., 2012) and how to capture the consequence of structural constraints on individuals and their careers (Duberley et al., 2006a; Barley, 1989). One solution to these tensions is the suggestion that when the focus is on academic careers, both individual and organisational components should be addressed in a research inquiry (Siekkinen et al., 2017). Building on this suggestion, I maintain further that there is a need for an approach not only attends to the individual dimension within a certain organisational context, but also acknowledges how these organisational contexts are shaped by developments in the wider field or external steering.

The existing research from the Finnish context suggests that diversification amongst academics is related to ability to embrace the current conditions of academic work (Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013), whereas academics in the English context are assigned to specific career trajectories

based on whether they are assigned as teaching-focused or instead academics who research and teach (Locke et al., 2016; Locke, 2014). Although the diversification of academics and their careers occurs at the organisational level, the underpinning rationale or logic behind the diversification reflects the conditions within the wider field. Building on this understanding, I maintain that an approach acknowledging the embeddedness of organisational career contexts is needed. To address this need, I propose the application of career capital (Angervall and Gustafsson, 2014; Duberley and Cohen, 2010) in conjunction with the principles of practice-based studies (Nicolini, 2012; Gherardi, 2006). Therefore, my research analysis draws attention to how the conditions of career agency emerge in a certain organisational context and how these conditions reflect the wider fields. However, although I start with individual experience, rather than furthering individualistic understanding of careers presented by the new-careers model, I focus on the context and conditions of career agency.

However, before I further detail my conceptual framework, I discuss the conceptual and empirical background for my research in terms of gender. Thus, the following chapter starts by noting the close association between the wider field of gender studies and gender in academia studies (Van den Brink, 2010). While I acknowledge the value of existing conceptualisations of gender, I maintain that when the focus is on agency, the feminine–masculine dichotomy may represent an inadequate framework to capture how academic women navigate and build their careers; hence, I suggest a shift in how gender practices are addressed in research analysis.

CHAPTER THREE
GENDER IN ACADEMIA: FROM INTERNALISED ROLES TO CONSTRUCTED GENDER

In the previous chapter, I discuss the empirical background for my research in terms of academic careers. I maintain that although careers emerge in certain organisational contexts, the logic or underpinnings according to which academics are diversified reflect the conditions in the wider field. Thus, an approach that pays attention to the individual dimension in career-making is also needed, while acknowledging that organisational career contexts are embedded within the wider field of business schools and higher education sector. In this research, I extend the individual dimension to include gender. Thus, to further my discussion, I set out to address the following two question: *How is agency captured in the existing conceptualisation of gender? How are the careers of academic women in Finland and England addressed in the existing research?*

Similar to academic career studies, research examining the careers of academic women is scattered across various fields and conducted based on terms such as "academic women" (Bernard, 1966), "women in science" (Etzkowitz et al., 2000), and "gender in academia" (Van den Brink, 2010), to mention a few. To keep this discussion aligned with that of the previous chapter, I focus explicitly on gender and agency. Thus, I start with the gender and

sex role theories in Section 3.1 and consider how these theories were replaced by an understanding of gender that conceives it as something that is done, practised, and performed (Butler, 1990; West and Zimmerman, 1987). In Section 3.2, I employ the four interpretative frameworks put forward in Le Feuvre (2009) to explore how the different formulations of gender frame women's agency. In Sections 3.3 and 3.4, I attend to the empirical contexts of my research and discuss how the position of women in academia has changed both in Finland and England, before I conclude this chapter in Section 3.5. As in the previous chapter, the statistics discussed in this chapter focus on the academic year 2014–15, and the literature review encompasses studies published prior to 2018.

3.1 The underpinnings of gender in higher education research: From roles to doing, performing, and practising gender

In 2011, Acker reflected on her career, and how her research questions have changed over the years. When she started in the late 1960s, she explored why women are less ambitious than men. Being influenced by the feminist movement, her research question moved to higher education and why it is hostile to women. More recently, she has examined the question of who 'the women' in higher education are (Acker, 2011). To a certain extent, Acker's reflection captures the changes in how gender has been conceptualised in research. When she started her career in the late 1960s, the field of gender studies drew extensively on sex and gender role theories that conceived gender as an individual trait internalised in childhood through socialisation (Risman and Davis, 2013). However, subsequent changes in which Acker shifted her attention first to the higher education institutions, and finally to academic women themselves again, reflect developments in gender studies. This shift can be described as a paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1962) when gender and sex role theories were replaced by approaches that rejected the understanding of gender as a role. Thus, I begin this

section by detailing how gender and sex role theories frame agency, after which I discuss how agency is addressed in recent research.

While gender and sex role theories initially drew on a functionalist tradition emphasising the mutuality and complementarity of male and female roles (Parsons and Bales, 1955), the framing of gender and sex role theories as static and ahistorical would not do justice to the vast body of research drawing on the tenets of gender and sex role theories. In essence, gender and sex role theories take the interrelationships between men and women as starting points to explore how this relationship is shaped by wider societal changes (Komarovsky, 1992). Drawing on this understanding, the focus is on factors such as personality characteristics and attitudes, as well as on the varied expectations women face when they attempt to combine academic roles with female roles (Luukkonen-Gronow, 1987; Luukkonen-Gronow and Stolte-Heiskanen, 1983; Acker, 1977; 1980). Thus, gender and sex role theories do not necessarily further complicity towards existing gender relations but allow critical engagement with the prevailing conditions (Komarovsky, 1992; Acker, 1977).

While gender and sex role theories provide a critical lens, one of the elements that sets gender and sex role theories apart from other conceptualisations of gender is the emphasis on early socialisation (Kimmel, 2007). Although gender and sex role theories maintain that physiological differences do not account for all the role differences, they are as perceived stable to the extent that even increasing similarity between male and female social roles would not disturb one's sex identity (Rossi, 1965). Thus, women can take over activities associated with male roles. However, individuals remain in their appropriate sex roles owing to their socialisation in childhood (Rossi, 1965). Gender is thus perceived as a stable and essential feature of individuals. These perceptions, subsequently, frame suggestions regarding how to improve women's positions in academia. Rossi notes that if 'we want more

women scientists', we need to rationalise the home maintenance by hiring a trained home-care service firms instead of leaving women to do that work (Rossi, 1965: 1201). In addition, reflecting the emphasis on early socialisation, all boys and girls should be educated 'for all their major adult roles – as parents, spouses, workers, and creatures of leisure' while not 'restricting and lowering the occupational goals of girls' (Rossi, 1965: 1201).

While Rossi's suggestions aim to address the role dysfunctionalities women face when entering academic life, they reiterate heteronormative and middle-class expectations. Women's agency is described in terms of engaging with home maintenance, as women's major adult roles are confined to parenthood and marriage (Rossi, 1965). Women scientists are also assumed to have access to monetary resources to pay for trained home-care services. While middle-class expectations are not necessarily at the forefront in the later work (Luukkonen-Gronow, 1987; Luukkonen-Gronow and Stolte-Heiskanen, 1983; Acker, 1980; Reskin, 1978b), women's agency is often described with heteronormative expectations. These expectations are captured in a conceptual paper that details the social organisation of and sex differences in science (Reskin, 1978a). Reflective of the understanding of gender as a role acquired through early socialisation, the relationships between academic women and men are categorised based on the roles that women and men are assumed to hold in adult life. Thus, the roles academic women and men acquire are based on kinship and on marital and romantic relationships, whereas the quasi-scientific roles of scientist and scientist-technician and that of scientist and apprentice provide additional roles (Reskin, 1978a). The limits these role conceptions are captured in Connell's (1985) notion of categoricalism. She uses this term to refer to how the categories of 'women' and 'men' are accepted as such. Hence, how they became to exist and whether these categories are as homogenous as assumed does not get discussed (Connell, 1985). Consequently, themes such as sexual orientations, gender identities, social class, and ethnicity, which currently feature in gender

analysis (e.g. Henderson and Nicolazzo, 2019; Pascoe, 2007; Skeggs 1997), are somewhat invisible in these discussions.

In the late 1980s, gender and sex role theories were challenged when researchers like Connell (1987), West and Zimmerman (1987), and Butler (1990) started to question the stability of gender identities, displays, and practices. While Connell relies on structuration and practice perspective (2005), West and Zimmerman (1987) align with ethnomethodology, and Butler (1995) draws on the poststructuralist tradition; each of these scholars frames gender as something achieved, performed, and constructed. This understanding is captured in Butler's (1990: 33) famous remarks on gender in which she describes gender as 'the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being'. Rather than asserting gender as something stable and acquired in early socialisation, gender is perceived to have an appearance of substance which is, in fact, a performance constituted by repeated acts. Thus, the logical conclusion is that there are neither essential gender traits nor stable gender identities but an impression of natural essence that is achieved through constant repetition.

The consequence of the shift away from the framing of gender as a role is that gender analysis is currently applied to more complex systems, such as organisations (Acker, 1990), professions (Davies, 1996), and women's careers (Evetts, 2000). Reflective of the constructive framing of gender, attention is placed on processes or practices that construct and maintain gender hierarchies (Connell, 2005). In this context, the relation of agency to gender is a prominent concern, in particular amongst feminist writers (Acker, 2010). In fact, no widely agreed upon understanding has emerged to explain how these two dimensions of gender and agency should be addressed. In the poststructuralist tradition, the rejection of

fundamental essence neglects the humanist framing of agency as individual property (London Feminist Salon Collective, 2004; Clegg, 2006; Davies, 1991). On the other hand, the works aligning with the practice perspective frame individuals as active, albeit often unreflective, 'practitioners' of gender (Martin, 2003; 2006), whereas discussions building on the ethnomethodological tradition of 'doing gender' draw attention to intentionality and to how individuals shift between gender displays (Jones, 2009).

While I fully acknowledge the value of existing proposals to address agency in gender analysis, one of my main concerns is how the current formulations have inherited the binary framing of gender, by which I mean that doing gender, gender practices and performances, are based on mutually exclusive and hierarchically organised gender categories (Le Feuvre, 2009). This understanding provides a framework according which women's actions and agency are observed. Thus, in the following section, I draw on four interpretative frameworks identified by Le Feuvre (2009) to identify how the 'patriarchy approach', 'the feminisation process', 'inverted socialisation', and social constructionism result in specific framings of women's or feminine agency. In doing so, I highlight how the binary framing of femininity and masculinity has certain limitations, if the aim is to address agency in career-making.

3.2 The gender in academia: Gender binary and agency

In the previous section, I examine how the essentialist conceptualisation of gender has been replaced by approaches that emphasise the constructedness of gender (Butler, 1990; West and Zimmerman, 1987). Reflecting the current understanding of gender as socially constructed, the focus of gender analysis has expanded beyond role conflicts to cover the diverse ways in which gender shapes practices and processes; consequently, gender analysis

Table 3.1 The four interpretative frameworks explaining the exclusion of women from prestige professions based on four interpretative frameworks identified by Le Feuvre (2009)		
Interpretative framework	The underpinning principle	The framing of gendered agency
Patriarchy approach	Masculine domination	The oppressed and the oppressor, or exclusion
The feminisation process	Inclusion of femininity because of its traits	The bearer of feminine traits
Inverted socialisation	Adaptation to prevailing gender practices through socialisation	Learning how to undo gender
Social constructionism	Changes in socially constructed gender norms	Acting according to and responding to changing norms

often draws attention to power relations and structural exploitations, along their relations to gender representations in academia (Morley, 2013; Fotaki, 2013; Acker, 2012). In the context of academic career research, terms such as 'glass ceiling' or 'leaky pipeline' (Blickenstaff, 2005) are often used to mark the fact that the percentage of women tends to decrease in the highest tiers of academia (European Commission, 2016). The tendency in discussions revolving around notions of the glass ceiling or leaky pipeline is to start from the observable differences in women's and men's academic career trajectories and to explore how these differences emerge.

To address the exclusion of women from prestige professions and, subsequently, gendered discrepancies in career trajectory, Le Feuvre (2009) identifies four interpretative frameworks in the existing literature. An interpretative framework is here understood as a theoretical frame that explains how the exclusion of women occurs and how the inclusion of women might be achieved (Le Feuvre, 2009). As Table 3.1 summarises, these four interpretative

frameworks are the patriarchy approach, the feminisation process, inverted socialisation, and social constructionism (Le Feuvre, 2009: 11-13). While Le Feuvre (2009) does not focus on agency in her discussion, I use her frame to discuss how the different approaches result in a specific formulation of agency.

The 'patriarchy approach' draws on an understanding that frames patriarchy as a set of socio-cultural practices (Walby, 1989) that sustains male domination over cultural and economic resources through reinforcing the association between masculinity and superiority (Le Feuvre, 2009; Knights and Kerfoot, 2004). Building on this understanding, the patriarchy approach asserts that the exclusion of women from professional groups takes place through constantly evolving and progressing masculine domination (Le Feuvre, 2009). While these studies may not explicitly reference patriarchy or masculine domination, Acker (2010: 147) concludes—based on interviews with 31 women in managerial academic positions in Australia, Canada, and Britain—that although some women succeed in academia, 'women's subordination is again confirmed, albeit with more nuances and layers of mystification than when they were simply excluded'. Masculine domination is not necessarily achieved through explicit and overt oppression but implicitly, through covert exclusion.

Implicit and covert exclusion is captured in the strand of research that draws attention to how seemingly gender-neutral notions such as meritocracy, networking, recruitment and promotions, academic excellence, and academic gatekeeping are inherently gendered (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2014; 2012a; 2012b; Van den Brink, 2015; 2010). The central argument is that presumably gender-neutral notions are defined such that they favour individuals with qualities and characteristics often associated with masculinity (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012a). In the case of academic excellence, common ideals are having a lengthy publication list, perceived leadership skills, and a network that reflects status and

influence in the international community (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012a). Because these traits require an ability to work long hours and be internationally mobile, those with responsibilities for care or with heavy teaching loads are unable to acquire these perceived markers of excellence (Lund, 2015; 2012). In other words, masculinity provides the norm against which everyone is evaluated (Fotaki, 2013; Le Feuvre, 2009).

While I do not reject the multiple observations that have identified how academia favours those who exhibit characteristics often associated with masculinity (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2014; 2012a; 2012b; Van den Brink, 2010; Knights and Richards, 2003), the problem with these approaches is that women's agency is described in negative terms: that is, either as a failure to achieve masculine ideals or as the representative of rejected one. Thus, less attention is given to the strategies and coping mechanisms on which academic women rely in managing their careers (Fritsch, 2016; 2015). Based on nine interviews conducted with feminist women, who actively promote change in their organisations, Parsons and Priola (2013) point out how the interviewees use diverse strategies, from resistance to playing the game to challenging the status quo, to achieve their goals. In some cases, academic hierarchies, albeit assigned as masculine and heteronormative, provide the authority for academic women to contest prevailing norms (Locke, 2015). Some women benefit from the hierarchies, while others may even use them to challenge the status quo. However, as the focus is on how masculine domination changes its form (Le Feuvre, 2009), the opposing actions and agency go unnoticed.

The following two frames (i.e., the feminisation process and inverted socialisation) revolve around change, as both suggest that gender practices and relations can be altered. Where the change is located differs in certain ways, as does the reasoning behind these changes. While 'the feminisation process' stresses professional groups and how those groups become

feminised as the number of women in them increases, 'inverted socialisation' locates the change in individuals (Le Feuvre, 2009). The feminisation process starts from the assumption that professional groups include women because of their specific social attributes, whereas inverted socialisation assumes that individuals can adapt to appropriate gender practices to assimilate into professional groups (Le Feuvre, 2009).

In the context of higher education, the feminisation process is captured in discussions revolving around notions of transformational or post-heroic leadership. The basic assumption in this line of work is that post-heroic leadership is 'a dynamic, multidirectional, collective activity'; consequently, it rejects heroic leadership's masculine orientations of assertiveness, individualism, and control (Fletcher, 2004: 649). Women are thought to adopt a leadership style that emphasises relationships and consensus building, communication, and working together for a common purpose (Trinidad and Normore, 2005). Not surprisingly, a transformational leadership style and post-heroic leadership have been framed as a counterforce in increasingly competitive and marketized higher education (McTiernan and Flynn, 2011). While discussions around post-heroic leadership could be seen to empower women, the feminisation process framework implies that change in professional groups is, in fact, desirable because of women's specific traits (Le Feuvre, 2009). Regarding agency, this argument is conflicted. While it supports the inclusion of women in prestige professions, it furthers endorses the claim women are predisposed to certain tasks because of their innate, albeit constructed, femaleness (Ortner, 1974). This conception of engrained femininity, in return, strengthens gender stereotypes, as it contrasts notions of soft femininity and competitive masculine (Fournier and Smith, 2006).

In contrast to the feminisation process that draws on the feminine specificity, the notion of inverted socialisation suggests that through the adaptation of masculine traits or practices,

women can insinuate themselves into male-dominated professional groups (Le Feuvre, 2009: 12-13). In other words, inverted socialisation frames gender as something that can be done or undone. The tendency is for women to distance themselves from typical female characteristics to establish themselves as professionals (Rhoton, 2011; Powell et al., 2009), and there are indications that individualistic gender strategies further gender barriers (Rhoton, 2011). Unwittingly, these strategies lead to a dichotomous framing of feminine agency in which the 'correct' behaviour contrasts 'deviant' behaviour. Depending on the perspective taken, correct behaviour is described either as sisterly support or as becoming an honorary man (Mavin, 2008; Bagilhole, 1993b).

One variation of contrasting correct behaviour with deviant behaviour is captured in the image of the 'queen bee' (Mavin, 2008; Ellemers et al., 2004). This notion refers to the unfriendly behaviour that women in leadership positions are assumed to exhibit towards other women (Mavin, 2008). In academia, the notion of queen bee is not necessarily confined to leadership but extends to academic hierarchies. In practical terms, this notion is captured in how established women academics evaluate their younger women colleagues. Drawing on a survey conducted with 179 academics working in a Dutch university and repeated with 80 academics employed by an Italian university, Ellemers et al. (2004) note how the female faculty tend to assess female doctorates as less committed to their work, regardless of the fact that both female and male doctorates reported similar levels of engagement to work. More recent work suggests that the queen bee is not necessarily a feminine response but emerges when marginalised groups are excluded from positions of power (Derks et al., 2016), but the notion of queen bee draws attention to the negative side of inverted socialisation. In these situations, individuals accommodate to the dominant gender practices to the extent that they adopt prevailing gender hierarchies (Mavin, 2008). Consequently, gender relations or practices remain untouched and unchallenged, as it is women who learn

how to do and undo gender (Rhoton, 2011; Katila and Meriläinen, 1999). This, adoption of gender norms entrenches women's otherness in academia, since women's actions are again at the centre of attention.

The fourth approach identified by Le Feuvre (2009) maintains that the weakening of socially constructed gender norms has allowed women to enter into previously male-dominated professions (Le Feuvre, 2009: 13). The term 'social constructionism' in the field of gender studies is often understood to refer to the position that gender is a social construction (Lorber, 1990). In this context, it is relevant to point out that social constructionism can also be defined as an epistemological stand that engages knowledge production critically. Thus, Brickell (2006: 87) uses the plural, 'social constructionism*s*', to identify four strands of social constructionism: historicism, symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, and materialist feminism. In this context, the term 'social constructionism' refers to socially constructed notions and norms that revolve around gender in academia (Le Feuvre, 2009).

In contrast to inverted socialisation, which locates gender change at the individual level, social constructionism attends to the norms that frame and place individuals as feminine or masculine (West and Zimmerman, 1987). In concrete terms, the changes in socially constructed gender norms become observable in the socio-demographic trends such as decreased fertility rates, the changing attitudes towards unmarried women, and the increased average age of marriage (Baker, 2012). These trends, combined with policy reforms that promote childcare and equal pay, shape what is expected from women and men, as well as what women and men might expect from their professional and personal lives in return (Baker, 2012).

In the case of academic women, there are indications of generational differences in how

women perceive gender equality and career management (Pritchard, 2010; Ledwith and Manfredi, 2000). Drawing on interviews conducted with 22 senior women in 1996–97, Ledwith and Manfredi (2000) note how younger women seemed to be more in command of their careers. Similarly, Pritchard (2010: 527) claims, based on 40 interviews conducted with academic women in the UK and 47 interviews in Germany, that '[e]arly career academics are moving away from inherited patterns of fear of success, lack of career planning, and low self-confidence that characterised some members of the older generation'. While ruthlessness in career management can be seen to indicate inverted socialisation, the central argument in social constructionism is that the socially constructed norms that guide, frame, and place individuals as feminine and masculine are constantly changing. Thus, career planning and self-confidence are not necessarily associated with masculinity similarly than previously. Therefore, women are not necessarily ostracised for exhibiting these attitudes and behaviours. In other words, it is more acceptable for women to display attitudes and to engage with practices previously identified as masculine (Baker, 2012; Pritchard, 2010; Ledwith and Manfredi, 2000).

The agential limitations of social constructionism include the elusiveness of the underpinning social norms. This line of criticism is captured in discussions that reference the principles of intersectionality to highlight how interactions occur in messy context (Collins, 1995). In her analysis of 18 interviews conducted with academics from five Danish universities, Søndergaard (2005) notes how the intersecting discourses of sex and gender, age, power, and discipline shape how academic women's career potential or professional standing is evaluated. Gender is not necessarily the main factor, but a part of a wider frame, in which social class or ethnicity can overrule gender binaries. Based on 31 interviews with non-UK women academics working in the UK business schools, Johansson and Śliwa (2014) identify that different types of foreignness are constructed based on ethnicity and country of

origin. Thus, they conclude that women's ability to act is shaped by dynamic and shifting definitions of foreignness (Johansson and Śliwa, 2014). Paradoxically, Sang et al. (2013: 169) note how nine non-UK women professors' dual otherness provided them 'wider repertoires for performing gender and ethnicity in academia' that freed them from the female roles restricting their British counterparts. These observations suggest that the consequences of socially constructed gender norms on agency are not necessarily a constant but vary depending on how individuals are placed within various relations. Thus, otherness can provide a way to resists the gender expectations placed on academic women.

When comparing the four interpretative frameworks with the approaches drawing on gender and sex role theory, four interpretative frameworks clearly allow a more nuanced understanding of how gender intersects with career-making. They share a crucial limitation with respect to agency, as women's agency is described by their position in relation to, engagement with, and rejection by the underpinning mutually exclusive and hierarchically organised categories of femininity and masculinity (Le Feuvre, 2009). Thus, although the relationship between women and men is not necessarily taken as a starting point (Komarovsky, 1992), the implicit understanding is that femininity and masculinity provide the primary categories or a continuum against which individuals' actions, attitudes, and characteristics are measured, evaluated, and classified.

While gender certainly frames how individuals and their achievements are perceived and responded to by other people (Ridgeway, 2011; 2009), there is a danger that the feminine–masculine division is used as an explanation for women's exclusion rather than as a starting point for further exploration. As the criticism of social constructionism discussed above identifies, the feminine–masculine dichotomy is only one relation amongst others; consequently, this theoretical lens may be insufficient to capture the influence of diverse

relations on agency. As I point out in Chapter 2, the conditions of academic career-making are shaped by several developments and trends from the massification of higher education to the marketisation of academic activities (Brown and Carusso, 2013; Ylijoki et al., 2011). Building on this observation, I maintain an approach is needed that not only acknowledges the embeddedness of organisational career contexts, while paying attention the individual dimension, but also allows for the exploration of how the locally shared understanding of gender intertwines with engagement with academic work, and subsequently with academic career-making. While this approach would reference femininity and masculinity, I propose that these two be understood as social practices amongst others; consequently, femininity and masculinity become consequential only in the context of other ongoing practices.

However, before I discuss how I conceptualise gender in my research analysis in Section 4.2, I turn my attention to the empirical contexts of Finland and England in Sections 3.2 and 3.4 to highlight the relevance of my proposal. In this discussion, I draw on statistics to show how the proportion of women has increased in academia, and I use the existing research to indicate how the gendered discrepancies in academia have been addressed previously. By doing so, I demonstrate that, although there are certain persistent trends such as the relatively low percentage of women in the professoriate, gender practices and the context and conditions of academic career-making are in constant flux. Consequently, the following two sections not only outline the empirical contexts of my research but also justify their selection.

3.3 Gender and academic careers in Finland: Fitting with the crowd, from settled academics to individualist achievers

Finland is often perceived as one of the most progressive countries in its treatment of gender equality. In 2015, *The Global Gender Gap Report* placed Finland behind Iceland and

Norway in the third place in gender equality (World Economic Forum, 2015). Moreover, women gained access to higher education relatively early, and women participated in higher education in higher numbers than even the neighbouring Scandinavian countries (Husu, 2000; Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993). While women in the late 1990s obtained four out of 10 doctoral degrees, the majority of MA-level degrees was being awarded to women already in the mid-1980s (Husu, 2000). The relatively early increase of women in the student body did not result in a critical mass that would have changed the gender ratios in academic staff (Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993; Luukkonen-Gronow, 1987). In fact, the increase of women among academic staff corresponds to the expansion of the higher education sector; the percentage of women academics increased from 16% in 1973 to 30% in 1990 (Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993). The proportion of women in the professoriate did not increase correspondingly. While the percentage of women professors, including associate professors and docents, was 6.7% in 1980, a decade later, in 1990, the percentage of women professors had increased to 7% and 13% for associate professors (Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993; Luukkonen-Gronow and Stolte-Heiskanen, 1983).

One of the bottlenecks, Stolte-Heiskanen (1993) identified at the time, was the shift from the student body to academic faculty. Although half of MA-degrees were awarded to women in the 1980s, the percentage of women in the position of assistant lecturer was 36% in 1990 (Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993). These figures were influenced by to the following factors; women were steered towards the non-scientific fields, they were excluded from informal professional networks, and belittling attitudes were adopted towards research done by women (Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993). Reflecting these attitudes, academic women usually had the highest representation in the specialised-lecturer posts. As these positions often came with high teaching loads, few possibilities were available to engage with academic research, which was and remains a precondition for academic career advancement (Lund, 2012;

Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993).

Earlier research indicates, however, that having a family is not necessarily incompatible with academic life. Luukkonen-Gronow and Stolte-Heiskanen (1983) note that married junior fellows, both women and men, were more productive than their unmarried colleagues in the 1970s. Relatedly, marriage seemed to protect academic women at the time. Based on their analysis, Luukkonen-Gronow and Stolte-Heiskanen (1983) identify that unmarried women were singled out as strange or as man-catchers; consequently, they were taken less seriously than married women by their male colleagues. In other words, women had their place in academia, but only under certain conditions.

Offering an additional explanation for women's exclusion in the 1980s, Luukkonen-Gronow (1987) points towards protégé system. The protégé system draws on the mentorship tradition in which 'the mentor provides a role model, academic advice, and eventually, assistance in gaining access to the profession' (Blackburn et al., 1981: 315). In the Finnish context, this tradition meant that an established senior academic supports a promising undergraduate student by providing him or her employment in the form of research or teaching assistantships and by sharing information about research grants and available fellowships (Luukkonen-Gronow, 1987). As the protégés were often selected by older men, the selection acted as an unreflective, gendered exclusionary practice. While more recent research has not explored the relevance and prevalence of the protégé system in Finnish academia, Husu (2004) notes that studying gate-keepers means studying men or, more specifically, elite men.

Table 3.2 shows the distribution of academic women and men across academic positions at the time of interviews in 2015 (Vipunen, 2015a). As the percentage of women in different

Table 3.2 The distribution of women and men across the academic positions in Finland in 2015							
	Women		Men		In total	Percentage of men and women	
						Women	Men
In total	10371	100%	12045	100%	22416	46.3%	53.7%
Professors	810	7.81%	2004	16.63%	2814	28.8%	71.2%
University lecturers	894	8.62%	819	6.79%	1713	52.2%	47.8%
Lecturers	1695	16.34%	1065	8.84%	2760	61.4%	38.6%
University teachers	189	1.82%	183	1.15%	372	50.8%	49.2%
Researchers	2514	24.24%	3093	25.67%	5607	44.8%	55.2%
Doctoral candidates	2406	23.19%	2919	24.23%	5325	45.2%	54.8%
Research and teaching assistants	1863	17.96%	1962	16.28%	3825	48.7%	51.3%
Based on Vipunen, 2015a. The percentages are calculated by the author.							

posts varies, from 61% in lecturers to 44% in researchers, the professorial level stands out as a clear outlier. This observation applies even to an analysis based on proportions: While 16% of men had entered the professoriate in 2015, only 7.8% of women had. If 16% of women had been appointed to the professoriate, the number of women professors would be around 1660, bringing the percentage of women professors up to 45%. While these calculations are speculative, they show that gendered discrepancies in professorial appointments persist.

Existing research suggests that the differences in professorial appointments between women and men can be attributed to the invitation procedure; this attribution is especially appropriate to the 1990s (Husu, 2007). The invitation procedure is used in temporary professorial appointments in which a highly accomplished academic is invited to take over a professor chair for a set time. While the invitation procedure was intended for use only in specific cases, around 52% of professors were invited to their post in the period from January

1997 to July 1998. Only 16% of invited professors were women in that period. This figure starkly contrasts that for the open-call procedure, as 32% of professors appointed through open-call procedure were women (Husu, 2000). The invitation procedure must be considered suggestive rather than conclusive, however, especially as the usage of invitations has decreased since the 1990s. In 2014, Academy of Finland collected data about professorial recruitment practices in Finland in the period from 2010 to 2013. Thirty-five percent were appointed through invitation procedure, while the rest were recruited either through open calls or promoted through tenure. Of the 1,155 appointed professors, 339 were women (Academy of Finland, 2014), amounting to only 30% of appointments. In fact, the percentage of women appointees has not increased very significantly compared to the situation in 1997 and 1998 (Academy of Finland, 2014; Husu, 2000).

While the proportion of women in professorial appointments has seemed to remain the same, certain developments set the 2000s and the 2010s apart from the 1980s and the 1990s. Women's engagement with academic research has increased, and attitudes towards academic women have become more nuanced, as compared with the previous, overtly belittling attitudes (Nikunen, 2014; 2012; Katila and Meriläinen, 2002; Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993). The increase in engagement with research is captured in Table 3.2, which demonstrates that although the percentage of women researchers was around 44% in 2015, the proportion of women (24.24%) in research positions was relatively close to that of men (25.67%). In these research positions, women reported in Changing Academic Profession (CAP) survey, conducted in 2007, that they spent around 21.0 hours per week on research, while men reported spending 19.5 hours per week (Aarrevaara et al., 2011). More recent statistics about work years and research work years indicate that, while women professors spend more time on research as compared with men, the situation is reverse amongst the early-career academics. At the professorial level, women spent 42% of their work years on research in

2015, slightly more than the 39% reported by men (Vipunen, 2017). Women placed in the first career stage of the four-stage research career structure spent around 59% of their annual work hours on research, which is less when compared with men's 65% in 2015 (Vipunen, 2017). In other words, while the percentage of women and men in research positions might be close to each other, there seem to be slight gender differences in actual work practices.

The changes in attitudes towards women are captured in Nikunen (2012). While she notes how 15 interviewees out of 31, both men and women working on temporary contracts in Finnish university sector, maintained that having children might have an adverse effect on women's careers, there were also references to individualistic counter-discourses that idealise a person's ability to combine parenthood with academic work (Nikunen, 2012). Such more nuanced, can-do-it-all attitudes may have replaced the overtly belittling attitudes towards women's work might. In fact, studying early-career women academics' embodied experiences in a Finnish flagship university, Lund (2015; 2012) points out how the ideal academic is able to not only exhibit international mobility and engage with the demands of long working hours but also have the kind of research profile that features in highly ranked journals. Thus, those whose research interests or personal circumstances do not fit with requirements are disadvantageously positioned in relation to the ideal academic (Lund, 2015). Thus, she concludes that priority is not necessarily given to men but to those individuals who are capable of aligning their private agendas in accordance with the expectations placed on academic work (Lund, 2015; 2012). Similarly, while Ylijoki and Ursin (2013) do not rely on gender analysis, they conclude that academic identities in Finland are increasingly polarised into those who thrive and those who do not under the current conditions of academic work.

Based on these observations of how academics are becoming diversified, the logic of success

does not necessarily centre on being male-bodied or masculine but being right-minded (Lund, 2015; 2012; Nikunen, 2014; 2012). At the same time, while women's engagement with research has increased, still slight differences remain between women and men in how they engage with academic work (Vipunen, 2017). These differences suggest that academic contexts are sites of diverse expectations and gender processes, the lines of which are not necessarily drawn solely between femininity and masculinity. While this could be framed as Finnish particularity, there are similar indications in the English context as well. Thus, in the following section, I consider how the careers of academic women in England and the UK are addressed in the existing research, before concluding this chapter in Section 3.5.

3.4 Gender and academic careers in England: From the excluded minority to conditionally included

In contrast to Finland, the significant increase of women amongst students and academic faculty is a surprisingly recent development in England. In 1982–83, the percentage of women students was 39% among undergraduates and 31% among postgraduates in England and Wales (Universities' Statistical Record, 1983). The low percentage of women students meant that the recruitment pool for future academics in England was dominated by men into the 1980s. This domination is subsequently reflected in academic staffing. In 1982–83, there were 5,123 women employed on an academic contract, constituting 14% of the whole academic population (Universities' Statistical Record, 1983). In addition, only 488 were promoted to senior lecturers or readers, while the number of women professors was 85, amounting to 2% of all professors (Universities' Statistical Record, 1983). The time at which this distribution of women occurred was relatively late when compared the time of the same distribution in Finland, where the percentage of women professor had reached 2.5% in 1964 (Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993).

Although England was behind Finland in terms of percentage of women entering academia, certain similarities are notable, related to the causes of the exclusion of women from academia in the 1970s and even in the 1980s. In her analysis, Acker (1980) refers to greedy institutions of academic work and family that impose extra burden on women. The low number of women in academic staff meant that women were positioned as tokens, and they were treated as representatives of their category. In addition, as research was strongly associated with men, women's observations and experiences were perceived as a 'less valid, less convincing, less scientific basis for understanding' (Acker, 1980: 87). A decade later, based on her analysis of 43 interviews conducted with academic women working in an institution where women constituted 11% of the whole faculty, Bagilhole (1993b) concludes that women's authority was challenged not only by their male colleagues but also by students. As a response, women attempted to present themselves as honorary men to pass as valid academics, which they achieved by distancing themselves from other women (Bagilhole, 1993b). Not surprisingly, Bagilhole (1993b: 445) contrasts the framing of the university as 'an open and meritocratic community of scholars' with Halsey's (1992: 18) description of a university as an 'intrinsically inegalitarian institution' and asks whether the latter stance furthers the exclusion of women from academia.

The situation in 2015 has changed from those of the 1980s and even the 1990s. The percentage of women faculty in England was 44.12% in 2014–15, at the time of data collection for this research. This increase is significant, considering the situation in the early 1980s (Universities' Statistical Record, 1983). In this context, it is relevant to point out that the increase has concurred with the expansion of the higher education sector. The number of academic full-time employment by universities, or equal higher education institutions, increased from 41,998 in 1988 to 135,015 in 2015–16 in the whole UK (HESA, 2017; Halsey, 1992). While the increase is around threefold in general, there is a six-fold increase

Table 3.3 The distribution of women and men across academic positions in England in 2014-15							
	Women		Men		Total	Percentage of women and men	
						Women%	Men%
Total	59550	100%	75405	100%	134955	44.12%	55.87%
Academic leadership	1315	2.2%	2355	3.1%	3670	35.83%	64.16%
Professor	3700	6.2%	11505	15.3%	15205	24.33%	75.66%
Senior Lecturer Principal Lecturer	8765	14.7%	13605	18.0%	22370	39.18%	60.18%
Lecturer B Senior Lecturer	20150	33.8%	21400	28.4%	41550	48.49%	51.50%
Lecturer A Lecturer	18450	31.0%	19120	25.4%	37570	49.10%	50.89%
Research Assistant	7170	12.1%	7420	9.8%	14590	49.14%	50.85%
Based on HEFCE, 2017. The percentages are calculated by the author.							

when the focus is solely on the number of academic women.

While it cannot be denied that the number of women has increased, certain trends persist. These trends include the clustering of women in early-career positions and the tendency of women to be more likely on part-time or teaching only contracts than are men. As Table 3.3 demonstrates, the percentage of women is relatively close to men in research assistants, lecturers, and senior lecturers, but the difference between women and men increases at senior and principal lecturer levels (HEFCE, 2017). In fact, the difference between women and men is highest at the professorial level, both in terms of the percentage of women professors and the proportion of women who have been promoted to the professoriate. While 6.2% of women had been promoted to the professoriate, the proportion of men in the professoriate was 15.3% in 2014–15 (HEFCE, 2017). The proportion of women in the professoriate has increased in a manner similar to that of men. The academic year 1988–89 saw 1.6% of women and 11.3% of men had been appointed to professoriate (Acker, 1992); thus, the

increase of women advancing to professoriate can be understood to reflect the expansion of the whole sector. if 15% of women had made to professoriate in a similar manner than men, the number of women professors would be close to 9,000. This would increase the percentage of women professor to 44%. While these calculations are speculative, they indicate that there was around 5,700 women professors' gap in England in 2015.

When exploring the causes behind gender differences in academic careers, Knights and Richards (2003) point towards a masculinity-centred perception of successes. Hence, success is described in terms of having a straightforward career trajectory, being placed in research and teaching career pathway, and being submitted to the RAE/REF (Knights and Richards, 2003). Hence, academic women, who are more likely than men to have part-time or teaching only contracts (HESA, 2017), are less like to achieve a straightforward career trajectory or being submitted to the RAE/REF. To a certain extent, the consequences of a masculinity-centred perception of success are reflected in how academics in different roles are distributed across academic ranks. Although there are currently career trajectories for teaching-focused academics (Strike, 2010), the proportion of those on teaching only contracts decreases significantly in senior roles, as I have pointed out in Section 2.4.

While both women and men work on part-time and fractional contracts, there are indications that men are more likely than women to work on contracts that are renewed after periodic reviews and to be transferred from temporary contracts to permanent ones (Bryson, 2004). To explain these observations, Bryson (2004) suggests that men are able to establish patronage relationships that help them to turn temporary contracts to their own advantage. In the English context, the benefits of patronage relationships in academia are twofold. First, collegial relationships increase collaboration, which subsequently affects research productivity (Bagilhole, 1993a). Second, although promotion criteria might be publicly

available, promotion rounds can be secretive processes in which no feedback is given (Parker, 2008; Forster, 2001). Hence, informal networks and support systems are valuable, as they fill gaps in publicly available knowledge. Access to this kind of knowledge is highly beneficial, especially during the early-career stage, when academics work under precarious conditions or learn the rules by which one advances in academia (Strike and Taylor, 2008; Lauder and Gläser, 2008). Unsurprisingly, Bagilhole and Goode (2001) conclude that the understanding of academic careers as a reflective of individual merit is a myth that disguises a patriarchal support system.

Paradoxically, there are indications that the new forms of managerial positions focusing on quality assurance have increased women's visibility in academic leadership (Morley, 2005). However, as the tendency is that women take over positions focusing on teaching quality whereas men are more often in charge of research, Morley (2005a; 2003) concludes that the implementation of research and teaching audits has, in fact, reinforced gender division in academic work in the UK. Drawing on interviews with seven women in academic leadership and 15 interviews with academic staff in a UK Business School where women occupied the majority of leadership positions, Priola (2007) notes tensions between feminine and managerial identities as well as gendered roles outside the workplace.

In more recent work, Read and Kehm (2016) have identified, based on eight interviews with women in academic leadership positions in the UK (4) and Germany (4), how women draw on image of the house-wife when describing how they are cleaning and sorting things. While this language use could be seen as complicity with prevailing gender orders, women seem also to engage critically with existing expectations. Based on 30 interviews conducted with women who identify themselves as a mid-career academics in the UK university sector, Kandiko Howson et al. (2018) note that, although men seemed to have easier access to

academic prestige, women were critical towards the 'game' of academic prestige. Some were reluctant to engage with the game to pursue academic prestige (Kandiko Howson et al., 2018). This reluctance suggests that women are not necessarily victims of a patriarchal support system but engage critically with the conditions under which academic career emerge (Kandiko Howson et al., 2018; Parsons and Priola, 2013; Forster, 2001).

While it cannot be denied that masculine cultures and attitudes do have their consequences for academic women (Fotaki, 2013; Priola, 2007), I am hesitant to conclude that the hierarchically organised feminine–masculine dichotomy can capture the nuances in the English academic career context as it relates to career agency. In the end, the current situation is more complicated than the previous, rather blatant, overt exclusion of women from academia (Acker, 2010). As in the Finnish context, as the university sector has been purposefully steered towards expansion, diversification, and the marketisation of higher education (Brown and Carasso, 2013), new opportunities have emerged for some women, and the number of women in academia has increased for sure (Morley, 2005). While there are gender differences in career trajectories (HESA, 2017), observations of women engage critically with the implicit rules for advancement and the conditions of academic work (Kandiko Howson et al., 2018; Parsons and Priola, 2013)—or how otherness in some contexts provides a basis for critical stance (Sang et al., 2013, Wyn et al., 2000)—indicate that there are multiple, and sometimes even contradictory, gender practices in place in academic organisations.

Thus, the question of how to capture the influence of wider field on organisational contexts, and moreover, how these intertwine with the local gender practices shaping the conditions of career agency provides a starting for this research inquiry. To address this starting point, I propose the application of practice-based studies that emphasise the intertwinement of

gender practices with the other ongoing practices. It is not necessarily femininity or masculinity, *per se*, but how they intertwine with other ongoing features of the context that make gender practices consequential.

3.5 Conclusion: Academic women in Finland and England: From explicitly excluded to conditional inclusion?

In this chapter, I address how gender is conceptualised and how the careers of academic women in Finland and England have been addressed in the existing research. Hence, I begin by pointing out how gender studies went through what can be described as a paradigm shift in the early 1990s (Kuhn, 1962), when gender and sex role theories were replaced by approaches that conceive gender as something done or performed (Butler, 1990; West and Zimmerman, 1987). While I fully embrace the conceptual tools and theories that uncover how gender is done, performed, and experienced in diverse contexts (Connell, 2005; Acker, 1990; Butler, 1990; West and Zimmerman, 1989), there is a tendency to prioritise the feminine–masculine division in research inquiry. To a certain extent, this prioritisation should be unsurprising, since the point of gender analysis is to unravel how gender emerges, is embedded, or is reproduced in diverse contexts and to take a critical stance position regarding the status quo.

Nevertheless, I maintain that the framing of gender as constituted by hierarchically organised mutually exclusive categories of femininity and masculinity is not necessarily suitable frame to address career agency. This is captured in the four interpretive frameworks advanced by Le Feuvre (2009), which I summarise in Table 3.4. While each of the approaches has merit, limitations of each can be summarised as the negative framing of women's agency, the danger of furthering stereotypical framing of feminine agency, and the elusiveness of

Table 3.4 The four interpretative frameworks explaining the exclusion of women based on four interpretative frameworks identified by Le Feuvre (2009)			
	The underpinning principle	The framing of agency	The limitations when the focus is on agency
Patriarchy approach	Masculine domination	Oppressed and the oppressor, or exclusion	Describes women's agency in negative terms
The feminisation process	Inclusion of femininity because of its traits	The bearer of feminine traits	Furthers the stereotypical framing of femininity and women
Inverted socialisation	Adaptation to prevailing gender practices through socialisation	Learning how to undo gender	Furthers the negative or stereotypical framing of femininity and women
Social constructionism	Changes in socially constructed gender norms	Acting according to and responding to changing norms	Disregards other forms of power relations

socially constructed gender norms. Moreover, hierarchically organised gender categories risk use as explanations for women's exclusion from prestige careers trajectories, rather than as starting points for further exploration. In a worst-case scenario, gender analysis reduces itself into a listing of new forms of gendered representations instead an investigation of the dynamic side of constantly fluctuating gender practices (Pascoe, 2007).

As I point out in Sections 2.3 and 2.4, the contexts and conditions of academic career-making are shaped by diverse developments from the expansion and massification of the university sector to changes in how universities are funded and how academic work is rewarded and evaluated (Kallio et al., 2016; Brown and Carusso, 2013; Ferlie et al., 2008). These changes have provided opportunities for women, as women's engagement with research has increased in the Finnish context, whereas the number of women in academic positions has increased six-fold in England since the late 1980s. Despite this increase, previous belittling attitudes towards women's research in Finnish academia might have been replaced with a regime of the ideal academic, which sets apart those unable to meet the requirements of international mobility, long working hours, and lengthy publication lists (Lund, 2015; 2012;

Rolin and Vainio, 2011). In the English context, women are more likely to work on part-time and teaching-only contracts than are men (HESA, 2017). Thus, they are less often able to achieve the markers of success commonly defined as the ability to produce the 'refable' research outputs (Barrett and Barrett, 2011; Knights and Richards, 2003).

While these developments can be and have been addressed in gendered terms, and although I fully embrace the line of work that makes hidden gender biases explicit in seemingly gender-neutral notions and practices (e.g. Fotaki, 2013; Van den Brink, 2010), I maintain that when the focus is on career agency and the conditions of that agency, the feminine–masculine dichotomy is not necessarily sufficient framework to capture how diverse developments, trends, and practices intertwine with each other. As the number of women has increased in academia, even at the highest ranks, this increase, paradoxically, suggests that the very same practices that result in masculinised fields seem to contribute also to diversification amongst academic women (Jönsas, 2019). Building on this observation, I maintain that a shift in how gender is approached in research analysis is needed. Rather than prioritising the feminine–masculine dichotomy as an underpinning logic according to which individuals are evaluated, I suggest that gender is framed as a social practice amongst others, which becomes meaningful only in conjunction with other ongoing practices (Rouse, 2007). Thus, in the following chapter, I turn my attention to the theoretical underpinnings of practice-based studies and discuss how I combine the conditions and contexts of career agency (discussed in Chapter 2) and gender practices (addressed in this chapter) into a coherent conceptual framework.

CHAPTER FOUR
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: PRACTICE-BASED STUDIES APPROACH TO CAREER AND GENDER RESEARCH

In the previous two chapters, I establish the conceptual and empirical background for my research. In Chapter 2, I explore how career agency has been addressed in the existing research. While studies relying on the underpinnings of neo-institutionalism (Laudel and Gläser, 2008) and institutional structuralism (Dany et al., 2011) address the contexts of academic career-making, other approaches ascribe agency as individual capability to manoeuvre in relation to certain structural conditions (Hakala, 2009; Archer, 2008a; 2008b; Henkel, 2000). While these frames undoubtably have merit, the starting point for this research is the limitations of the ways in which the existing approaches address positionality or the messy realities of career-making and the inability to acknowledge how developments in the wider field shape organisational career contexts.

In the previous chapter, I note how, although diverse conceptualisations of gender that understand it as constructed further our understanding of women's exclusion from academia,

there remains an implicit understanding that the feminine–masculine dichotomy provides the underlying principle for the exclusion of women from prestige professions and, subsequently, from academia (Van den Brink, 2010; Le Feuvre, 2009). While this stance provides a valuable entry point to gender analysis in general, I maintain that the prioritisation of the feminine–masculine division in research analysis is insufficient, if the aim is to assess how the context and conditions of career agency intertwine with locally prevailing gender practices. I therefore propose an approach in which both careers and gender are framed as social practices in practice-based studies. Hence, to further my discussion, I set out to answer the following questions: *How are the principles of practice-based studies defined in the existing literature? How can these principles be applied in organisational research focusing on the careers of academic women?*

To answer these questions, in Section 4.1 I outline the underpinnings of practice-based studies. In Section 4.2 I turn my attention to gender to discuss how the conceptualisation of gender aligned with the principles of practice-based studies departs from that of other approaches. I maintain that the conditions of career agency cannot be explained by focusing on the locally shared practical understanding of gender alone. Instead, for gender practices to become consequential requires the kind of conditions in which gender practices conjoin with other social practices to reiterate and reinforce inequalities. To address this multifaceted relationship, I engage the notion of career capital, and in Section 4.3, I turn my attention to the existing conceptualisations of career capital, after which I advance my conceptual framework, drawing on concepts of authority and career capital in Sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2. In Section 4.4, I discuss the limitations of my conceptual framework. I then conclude my chapter in Section 4.5.

4.1 The theoretical underpinnings of practice-based studies

In this section, my aim is not to give an extensive account of the field of practice theory, as others have done this work already (e.g. Bain and Mueller, 2016; Nicolini, 2012; Gherardi, 2012; 2006; Schatzki, 2001). Instead, I give a brief description of what sets practice-based studies apart from other approaches. In line with others, I start by noting that no unified theory of practice has yet been formulated (Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, 2012; Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011; Gherardi, 2009). Instead, the field of practice theories is characterised by overlapping and sometimes conflicting propositions and positions (Bain and Mueller, 2016). This overlap becomes evident in how the diverse formulations of practice theory extend from cultural and social theory (Reckwitz, 2002) to organisational and higher education studies (Nicolini, 2012; Trowler et al., 2012; Gherardi, 2006), as well as in diverse labels such as practice-based studies or practice-based research that are used to assign affiliation with practice theory (Trowler, 2012; Gherardi, 2009). Accordingly, while I use the terms 'practice-based studies' and 'practice theory' interchangeably in this section, I understand practice-based studies to be a specific approach within the wider field of practice theory, mainly applied in the field of organisational studies (Nicolini, 2012; Gherardi, 2009; 2006).

While practice theory does not amount to a grand theory, there is the loosely defined field of practice theory that shares certain intellectual roots. There roots can be summarised in the following three philosophical strands: the phenomenological concept of practice, Marxist praxeology, and the late-Wittgensteinian approach to language (Nicolini, 2012; Gherardi, 2006). While these three traditions might at first appear somewhat contradictory, they have contributed to the current state of practice-based studies. While the phenomenological framing of practice rejects the Cartesian division and, subsequently, considers the individual subject to be dependent on 'the web of social practices' (Nicolini, 2012: 37), Marxist

praxeology prioritises human activity in social research (Gherardi, 2006). The late-Wittgensteinian approach, on the other hand, attends to linguistic games, and how practices become understandable only in relation to their background (Nicolini, 2012; Rouse, 2007). Combined, these three positions provide the basis for theorising moves resulting in 'a series of family resemblances', which sets practice-based studies apart from other approaches focusing on discourses, interactions, or cognition (Nicolini, 2012: 9; Gherardi, 2006; Schatzki, 2001).

Feldman and Orlikowski (2011) have summoned these family resemblances into the following three theoretical positions, corresponding to the assumptions that situated actions have an essential role in the production of social life, that relations are reciprocally constitutive, and that conceptual dualism is rejected as a theoretical lens (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011). In contrast to approaches that focus on interactions or cognition, practice-based studies take an ontological position which maintains that situated actions are 'consequential in the production of social life' (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011: 1241). While no widely agreed definition of practice exists, practice-based studies tend to draw upon the understanding of practices as 'molar units' constituted by 'smaller elements' of 'simpler' bodily and discursive actions that as a whole carry specific meanings (Nicolini, 2012: 10). In this line of thought, the focus in practice-based studies is not on practitioners but on practices and how they are 'enacted, performed or produced' (Nicolini, 2012; Rouse, 2007; Gherardi, 2009: 115).

Whether emphasis is placed on a human agency or the dynamics of everyday activity, practice-based studies draw on the understanding that relations are mutually constitutive (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011). In short, all actions are embedded within and emerge from their contexts (Schatzki, 2001). As such, practice-based studies posit that 'the meaning of

individual performances of a practice depend upon their particular context' (Rouse, 2007: 526); consequently, practice-based studies are always situational in terms of their location within a specific temporal and spatial space (Nicolini, 2012). To mark this understanding, writers rely on notions such as a field, a field of practices, or a field of social practices (Nicolini, 2012; Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki, 2001). While there are slight differences in the exact definitions of these concepts, common to them is the perception that practices are constituted by interconnected and simultaneously occurring activities (Nicolini, 2012; Gherardi, 2006; Schatzki, 2001). Depending on the perspective and the focus of research, the notion of a *field* provides a frame to explore how interconnected activities result in specific contexts either enabling or impeding certain types of agency (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012a; Nicolini, 2012; Gherardi, 2006).

The understanding of the social world as a field of interconnected activities is reflected in theory formation. As Feldman and Orlikowski (2011) note, practice theory rejects conceptual dualism as a way of theorising; consequently, it draws attention to the inherent relationship between phenomena such as agency and structure, discursive and practical actions, knowledge and practise, and human and non-human elements (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011). Practice-based studies thus provide a critical position against a Cartesian separation of mind and body or approaches that divide the social into to micro, meso, or macro levels to explore how these spheres interact with each other (Gherardi, 2012; 2006). In contrast to Cartesian separation and division into micro, meso, and macro levels, practice-based studies suppose that 'the whole is reproduced in each of its parts, so society and its institutions can be observed in a single interaction'; consequently, practice-based studies embrace a holistic view of the social (Gherardi, 2006: 215).

Drawing on the tenets of practice theory, practice-based studies provide me with an

ontological position that understands gender and careers as emergent from practices. Thus, diversification within the social space occurs through a dual process in which individuals and their actions are positioned or framed either as female or male based on the shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity, at the same time as engagement with working practices accumulates into differences in status and competence (Gherardi, 2006; Bruni et al., 2005) reified in career trajectories. Building on this understanding, career agency emerges at the intersection of an organisation of academic work, the expectations placed on academic work, and the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity, as I summarise in Figure 4.2 in Section 4.3.1. Hence, my conceptual framework draws on the notions of authority and career capital that intersect with the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity.

To further my discussion, I first explain how I exploit the principles of practice-based studies in my conceptualisation of gender. In the subsequent discussion, I distinguish how the practice-based approach to gender departs from the body of work that uses the term 'practice' but relies on structuralism and institutionalism (Connell, 2005; 1995; 1987; Martin, 2006; 2004; 2003). Thus, I purposefully leave unexplored the approaches that explicitly align themselves with practice theory (e.g. Van den Brink, 2010; Bruni et al., 2005). The reason these discussions are left unexplored is that bringing them up would direct discussion towards differences between the various strands in practice theory rather than exploring how practice theory departs from other ontological stances.

4.2 The practice-based framing of gender: A shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity

In the previous section, I set out the tenets of practice-based studies and identified how I

understand both gender and careers as emergent from practices. In terms of conceptual language, practice-based approaches to gender come close to Butler's definition of gender as '[a] repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame' or West and Zimmerman's (1987: 126) framing of gender as '[a] routine, methodical, and recurrent accomplishment'. In both cases, attention is paid to the repetition and accomplishment of actions. Not surprisingly, practice-based studies focusing on gender emphasise the works of Butler and West and Zimmerman to argue that gender is something performed and accomplished (e.g. Bruni et al., 2005). Accordingly, practice-based studies framing of gender can be placed within the wider family of constructive approaches to gender, rejecting the essentialist framing of gender (Connell, 2005; 1987; Butler, 1990; West and Zimmerman, 1987).

While some approaches within gender studies that draw on the term 'practice' in their conceptual frame (Connell, 2005; 1987; Martin, 2006; 2004; 2003), they do not necessarily fully conform to the principles of practice-based studies. This distinction is captured in the works of Connell (2005; 1995; 1987) and Martin (2006; 2004; 2003), who rely on expressions such as 'practices of gender' and 'gendering practices' or 'figurations of gender practices'. While the terminology suggests similarity in the conceptualisation of gender, there are differences in the theoretical underpinnings of these terms. The clearest example of such as difference can be found in the works of Connell (2005; 1995; 1987), which emerge from the tradition of structuration. Martin (2004), on the other hand, combines her approach with that of institutionalism. While the combination of institutionalism with practice theory is used in other fields such as strategy-as-practice (Suddaby et al., 2013), practice-driven institutionalism (Smets et al., 2017), or translational mobilisation theory (Allen and May, 2017), I rely solely on the principles of practice-based studies in my formulation of gender. This reliance, subsequently, sets my conceptualisation of gender apart from those approaches

that employ structuration or institutionalism in their theorisation of gender (Martin, 2004; Connell, 1987).

The main difference between structuration and practice-based studies can be summarised as follows. While the former understands gender as a structure in its own right, the latter understands gender as a social practice amongst other ongoing practices (Connell, 2005; Bruni et al., 2005). This discrepancy is captured in the way in which structuration draws on the duality of structure and suggests 'an active presence of structure in practice' (Connell, 1987: 94). Accordingly, while the interplay between individual action and emergent structures is acknowledged, the central argument is that gender practices become meaningful within a gender order in which femininity and masculinity are described in hierarchical relation (Connell, 1987). This focal point results in a difference in research. As gender relations are understood as hierarchical as such (Connell, 2005), the analysis tends to focus on mapping out the diverse ways in which these hierarchies are maintained (Fisher and Kinsey, 2014; Fotaki, 2013). While this approach reveals how seemingly gender-neutral notions in fact affirm gender inequalities, there is a danger that some individuals, usually women, are described as recipients of gender practices, while others, often men, are understood as the beneficiaries of same practices. Hence, this approach has two caveats. First, locally shared understandings of femininity and masculinity might be overlooked because the researcher has a predefined frame for how to address and capture gender practices. Second, oppressive relations amongst individuals, if those relations cannot be conceived in terms of the feminine–masculine dichotomy, may remain unchallenged. Unwittingly, these blind spots can create a situation in which power relations and inequalities *amongst academic women* remain uncovered.

Another approach applying notions of practice in gender analysis can be found in the works

of Martin (2006; 2003), who starts from the observation that gender is often enacted and does not necessarily result in a coherent prescription of femininity and masculinity. To address the problem of saying and doing, Martin (2006; 2003) puts forward the conceptual pair 'gendering practices' and 'practicing gender'. While gendering practices capture the institutional dimension of gender, the notion of 'practicing gender' refers to 'the literal activities of gender, physical and narrative' (Martin, 2003: 354). Thus, gender is understood as a set of dual dynamics in which institutionalised knowledge about gender provide a repository of positions, identities, and norms for gendering the social, while the actual practise of gender occurs in action, often unreflexively (Martin, 2006).

Similar to Martin (2006; 2003), I understand individuals as active practitioners of gender who apply diverse resources and practices to mediate the influence that gender practices have in people's daily encounters in their work contexts (Read and Kehm, 2016; Fritsch, 2015; Rhoton, 2011). Still, Martin (2006; 2003) notes that individuals are neither rational nor reflexive gender practitioners. In practical terms, this lack of reflection is captured in moments and instances in which individuals express progressive ideas and attitudes, while at the same time their own actions deepen divisions between academic women (Jönsas, 2019; Lund, 2015; 2012). Consequently, the framing of gender as a set of dual-dynamics allows one to address the paradox of how progressive individuals may unwittingly further gender inequalities and how gender inequalities remain unchallenged (Martin, 2006; 2003).

I concur with Martin's (2006; 2003) position that gender is often done unreflexively, but I depart from the framing of gender as a social institution (Martin, 2004). The rationale for rejecting this stance is that it implies that there is something extraordinary in gender practices that sets them apart from other practices. This understanding is captured in claims maintaining that gender practices become meaningful on their own because of the

underpinning social institution of gender (Martin, 2004). Hence, there is a danger that research analysis, when approached unreflexively, reduces itself to a listing of new forms of masculinities and femininities rather than engaging with power relations that concur with gender practices (Pascoe, 2007). I maintain that this danger is related to the overt reliance of the feminine–masculine dichotomy. In a case of agency, this reliance results in a framing for agency in which women's actions and attitudes are evaluated based on how they feature in relation to the hierarchically organised, mutually exclusive, gender categories, as I have posited in Section 3.2. This is not to say that gender is irrelevant, but the contrary. Thus, I propose an approach to femininity and masculinity which draws on the principles of practice-based studies discussed in Section 4.1.

As I point out in Sections 3.3 and 3.4, the careers of academic women emerge in organisational contexts characterised by shifting conditions of employment and the changing ideals of academic work and gender (Lund, 2015; Husu, 2007; Morley, 2003; Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993). Thus, the question of how these changes and developments result in 'a circumscribed agency' (Acker, 2010) becomes a point of interest. Taking into consideration the principles of practice-based studies, which emphasise intertwinement and rejects conceptual dualism as a way of theorising (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011), I understand gender as emerging from a set of practices and the consequences of those practices that place individuals in relations to each other and their activities, based on a shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity. Moreover, I emphasise the connection of gender practices to other ongoing practices. In other words, gender practices become consequential and meaningful only in relation to other ongoing practices (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012b; Rouse, 2007). Thus, while the practical understanding of femininity and masculinity has a reference point in the feminine–masculine division, I understand masculinity and femininity as practices that arise from shared practical understandings and

knowledge. Building on this understanding, I reject the framing of gender practices as hierarchical and mutually exclusive relations, *per se*. Instead, I focus on how gender practices become consequential in specific organisational contexts.

In practical terms, the application of practice-based studies into gender analysis results in an understanding in which gender is not considered the sole cause of exclusion or inclusion. Instead, I understand inclusion and exclusion as emerging from a dual process in which the shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity positions individuals as feminine or masculine, which, furthermore, shapes their engagement with academic work. This influence, in return, positions individuals within their communities, owing to accumulated differences of status and competence (Gherardi, 2006; Bruni et al., 2005). Accordingly, while the shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity have the potential to position 'persons in contexts of asymmetrical power relations' (Bruni et al., 2005: 3), this potential becomes consequential only when gender practices coincide disadvantageously with other ongoing practices. Thus, in contrast to Bruni et al. (2005) who understand gender practices as anchoring practices, and thus essentially having specific qualities as 'constitutive rules' (Swidler, 2001), I emphasise that gender practices do not depart from other practices, as such. By this, I mean that gender practices are not necessarily powerful, *per se*. Instead, it is how the shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwines with other ongoing practices that makes gender consequential.

The emphasis on intertwinement results in a frame in which the consequences of gender practices on practitioners are not necessarily felt directly but only after a delay. In addition, the effects can be partial or even can result in entirely different outcomes in other contexts. Therefore, while I understand gender as 'a dynamically situated social practice that operates in various structural and cultural academic contexts' (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012b:

87), my attention is on academic contexts, which, in accordance with the principles of practice-based studies, I understand as emerging from diverse, intersecting, and mutually constitutive practices (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011). To address these academic contexts, I propose two conceptual tools: authority and career capital. While the notion of authority addresses the context of career agency in terms of relations that shape action and shape possibilities to act (Watson, 2017), the concept of career capital draws attention to the conditions of agency by highlighting how engagement with academic work accumulates in career capital (Arthur et al., 1999; Defillipi and Arthur, 1994). Thus, I begin by discussing the existing conceptualisation of career capital to identify how I build on them in my formulation of career capital.

4.3 The existing conceptualisations of career capital: A competency-based and a Bourdieusian approach

In the previous section, I explain that rather than understanding gender as a standalone social practice, I perceive it as intertwined with other ongoing practices. According to this understanding, gender practices become meaningful and consequential when they concur with practices relevant to exclusion or inclusion from academia (Van den Brink, 2010). Hence, I draw on the concept of career capital to address the conditions of career agency. In other words, how and why engagement with the different dimension of academic concurs with career progression. As I identify in Section 2.2, I position the concept of career capital among approaches that frame agency as embedded while mapping out individual acts or situated practices results in career agency (Tams and Arthur, 2010). Based on their analysis of all published papers in the four core journals of career studies between 2012 and 2016, Akkermans and Kubasch (2017: 595) note that the concept of career capital has been 'gaining some momentum since 2015'. In this context, career capital is utilised to address

career adaptability and competencies (Spurk et al., 2016; Fleisher et al., 2014; Akkermans et al., 2013). However, as this body of research draws mostly on quantitative methods it does not necessarily provide a relevant entry point for the discussion of career capital.

While there are conceptualisations, such as Välimaa's (2005) reference to currency in career-making and Van den Brink's (2015) professional capital which could be seen to align with the notion of career capital, there are two qualitative studies that rely explicitly on the concept of career capital while exploring scientific or academic careers, to my knowledge. Duberley and Cohen (2010) address the gender differences in scientific career capital, whereas Angervall and Gustaffson (2014) address how the field of academic careers is interconnected with university governance, pointing out how different dimensions of academic work accumulate in field-relevant capital. My research is located between these two works, as I address both gender and the embeddedness of academic organisations into the broader field. As both studies base their discussions on two lines of conceptualisations of career capital— a competency-based approach (Arthur et al., 1999; Defillipi and Arthur, 1994) and a Bourdieusian approach to career capital (Iellatchitch et al., 2003)—I also take these approaches as a starting point for my conceptualisation of career capital. The rationale for focusing on these two approaches is that they adopt a holistic understanding of career capital. By 'holistic', I here mean that they do not prioritise a specific form of capital over others.

As Table 4.1 summarises, both approaches conceive career capital as emerging from several dimensions, extending from social to education, cultivation, and identities (Defillipi and Arthur, 1994; Iellatchitch et al., 2003). Moreover, while neither of the approaches aligns explicitly with practice-based studies, they emphasise accumulation either in the form of investments in competencies or engagement with work-related activities (Iellatchitch et al.,

Table 4.1 The competency-based approach and the Bourdieusian approach to career capital	
Competency-based approach to career capital	The Bourdieusian approach to career capital
Know-why Identity, values, interests	Cultural capital Education, culture and cultivation
Know-whom Professional and social relations	Social capital Social connections, group or class memberships
Know-how Knowledge, skills and abilities	Economic capital all-purpose convertible money
Defillipi and Arthur (1994); Inkson et al. (1999)	Iellatchitch et al. (2003)

2003; Inkson and Arthur, 2001; Arthur et al., 1999). Thus, there is a conceptual basis that allows the application of three theorising moves of practice-based studies into the conceptualisation of career capital. Career capital can thus be seen as emerging from interconnected and situated actions that result in mutually constitutive relations (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011). However, slight differences exist in how the components of career capital are defined, how career capital is shaped by and intertwines with the wider contexts, and how career capital links individuals with these contexts.

The competency-based approach to career capital is formulated in the works of Defillipi and Arthur (1994) and Inkson and Arthur (2001), it has influenced the field of career development studies (Eby et al., 2003; Forret and Sullivan, 2002). In the initial formulation of the competency-based approach, Defillipi and Arthur (1994) divide career competencies

into three classes: know-why, know-how, and know-whom. Know-why competencies refer to identities, values, and skills; know-how, to knowledge, abilities, and other professional competencies; and know-whom, to intra- and inter-firm as well as social and professional relations (Defillipi and Arthur, 1994). Whether these competencies are observed from an organisational, occupational, or industry community perspective, they form the basis for career movement within and across organisations (Defillipi and Arthur, 1994).

In their initial formulation, Defillipi and Arthur (1994) draw on the firm-based competency perspective and suggest 'a broader dependence of firm competencies on individual career behaviour' (Defillipi and Arthur, 1994: 310). By this suggestion, they mean that career competencies do not have any intrinsic value, as such, but require the kind of conditions in which career competencies are valued. Thus, it is in the interest of the person to find an employment setting in which opportunities and rewards align with employers' career competencies. At the same time, the interest of the firm is to ensure that highly competent employees remain in their service (Defillipi and Arthur, 1994). Thus, the notion of career competencies places the employer and the employee in a relationship of in which the employee's competencies are placed at the employer's disposal for the duration of employment contract (Arthur et al., 1999).

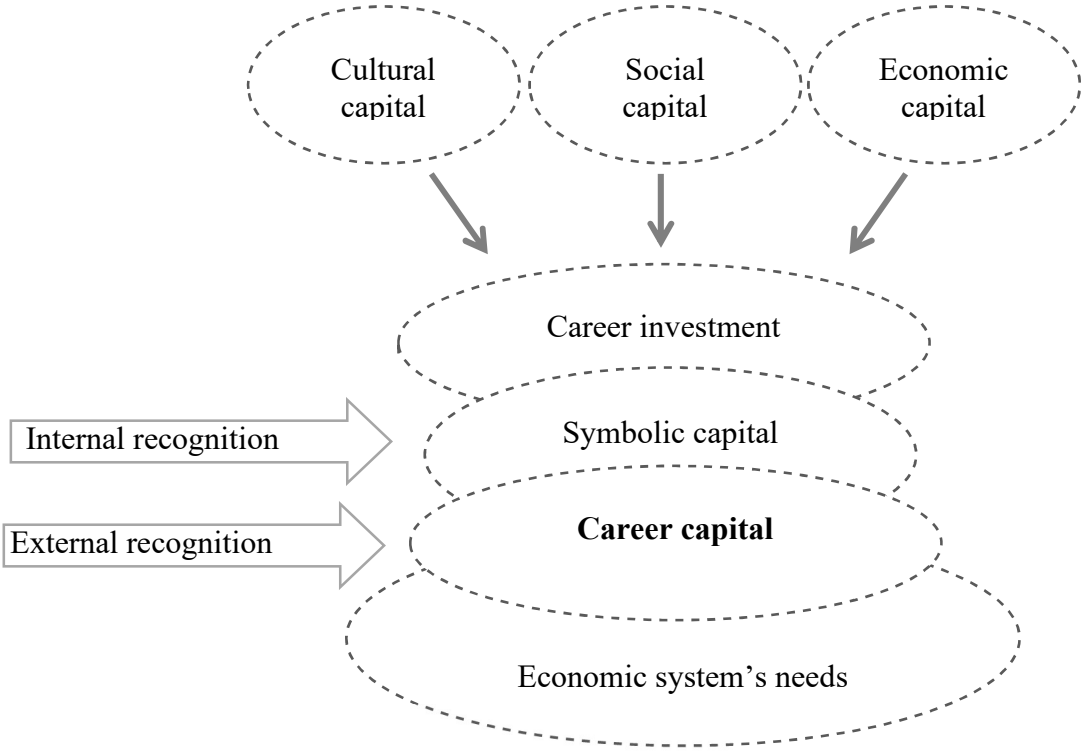
Whereas Defillipi and Arthur (1994) draw attention to ways in which firm-level competencies are interlinked with individual career behaviour, Inkson and Arthur (2001: 50) take an individualistic stance, claiming that careers are 'personal property'. This stance is aligned with the position that, while organisations may provide the settings in which the value of career competencies is realised (Arthur et al., 1999), careers are never created or caused by organisations but emerge as individuals move across jobs and enhance their 'repositories of knowledges' (Inkson and Arthur, 2001: 50). Nevertheless, the enhancement

of ‘repositories of knowledges’ does not occur automatically through new employment. Instead, individuals must be active career capitalists and invest in one of the career competencies of knowing-why, knowing-whom, or knowing-how. Drawing on the understanding of these competencies as ‘complementary forms, or currencies, of career capital’, Inkson and Arthur (2001) maintain that investment in at least one of the career competencies enhances the other two. Thus, it is the interest of a person to engage in activities that increase career their capital (Inkson and Arthur, 2001).

The Bourdieusian framing of career capital aligns with the competency-based approach in terms of framing career capital as an individual property without intrinsic value. However, there are differences in how the accumulation of career capital is formulated and how career movements are described. In contrast to a competency-based approach, career capital is defined as ‘the different modes of support the individual obtains and has at his/her disposal and may invest for his/her further career success’ (Iellatchitch et al., 2003: 733). While a competency-based approach to career capital frames careers as movement either within or across organisations and industrial communities (Arthur et al., 1999; Defillippi and Arthur, 1994), the Bourdieusian approach perceives careers as relative positioning within a career field, as a social context ‘made up of the sequence of positions that is the result of work-related efforts’ (Iellatchitch et al., 2003: 733). Thus, career success is understood as an ability to maintain or improve one’s position in relation to other actors in the career field.

While the competency-based approach to career capital does not rely on a specific definition of work, the Bourdieusian framing of career capital maintains that work is an activity that enables the transformation of cultural and social capitals into economic capital

Figure 4.1 The accumulation of career capital the Bourdieusian framing of career capital



Source: Iellatchitch et al., 2003: 735

and vice versa. Accordingly, engagement with work-related activities provides the means for capital accumulation and transformations (Iellatchitch et al., 2003). However, engagement with work, as such, does not necessarily lead to an accumulation of career capital. Instead, it is a twofold process (Iellatchitch et al., 2003), as I summarise in Figure 4.1 based on the model set out in Iellatchitch et al. (2003). First, all individuals enter the career field having their particular sets of capitals, which, following Bourdieu's (1986) definition of capital, is understood as a composition of cultural, social, and economic capitals. Drawing on these capitals, individuals invest in work-related activities. Depending on whether these investments are recognised as relevant and legitimate, by other actors in the career field, these career investments accumulate into symbolic capital (Iellatchitch et al., 2003). Symbolic capital, on the other hand, accumulates into career capital, but only if it

is acknowledged and rewarded by external actors. This external recognition is often communicated through economic capital; consequently, Iellatchitch et al. (2003: 733) maintain that economic capital 'remains the determining element of nearly all types of work'.

One of the main differences between the competency-based approach and the Bourdieusian formulation of career capital is how they frame agency. While the competency-based approach acknowledges that the individual's choices are mediated by individuals 'accumulated experience and knowledge, family and social networks, and economic connections', it takes an individualistic stance in defining persons as 'career capitalists' (Inkson and Arthur, 2001; Arthur et al., 1999: 41). In this line of thought, career capital is understood as an increasing and changing asset, which accumulates as individuals move across organisational, occupational, and industrial landscapes (Arthur et al., 1999). In contrast to the framing of career capital as an ever-increasing personal asset, the Bourdieusian formulation of career capital emphasises that every agent 'has got a unique portfolio of capitals', which has accumulated since the beginning of life (Iellatchitch et al., 2003: 734). Thus, it acknowledges that there are differences in how individuals are able to invest in work-related activities (Iellatchitch et al., 2003).

While the competency-based approach has merits in terms of providing a framework to map out how individuals have maintained and constructed their careers under the changing employment conditions, the competency-based framing of career capital does not necessarily provide a critical lens to look at the conditions under which career competencies are accumulated into career capital. By this accumulation, I refer to the framing of employer and employee relationships as relations of reciprocal exchange (Arthur et al., 1999). This understanding does not attend to the sometimes contradictory expectations placed on

employees and their work, as well as the evident power relations between employers and employees. In this regard, the Bourdieusian framing of career capital enables critical explorations into the conditions of a career field. On the one hand, there is the possibility to explore how individuals are placed in disadvantageous positions due to their specific portfolio of cultural, social, and economic capitals. On the other hand, the Bourdieusian framing draws attention to how field-relevant career capital is shaped by economic and other fields (Iellatchitch et al., 2003). In this context, the division between symbolic and career capital marks how the field-relevant career capital is shaped and defined in interaction with wider social contexts (Iellatchitch et al., 2003).

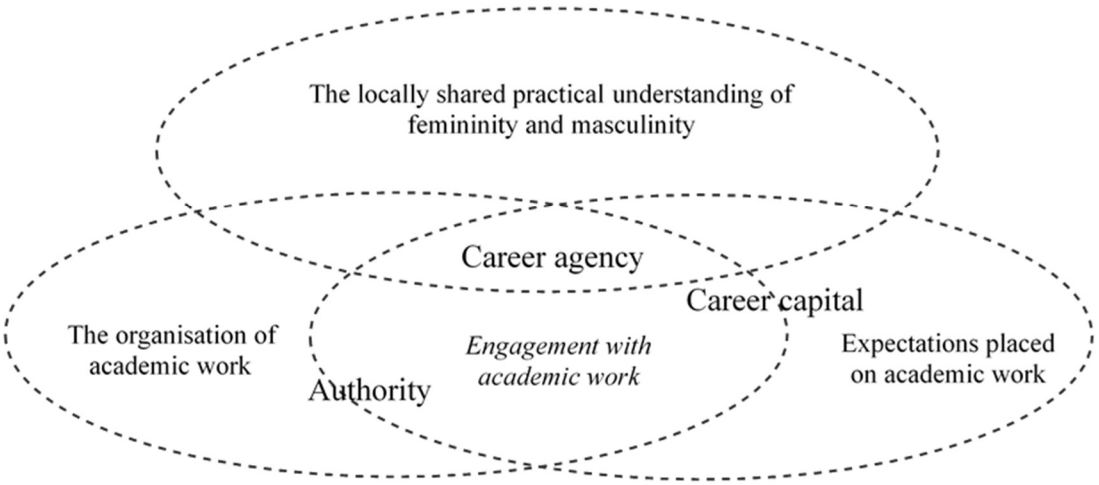
While I concur with the understanding of 'career field' as a relational field in which individual positions emerge through engagement in work-related efforts, I do not endorse the framing of a career field as a semi-autonomous social context and the subsequent division between internal and external recognition (Iellatchitch et al., 2003). This is related to my alignment with the principles of practice-based studies, which reject dualism as a way of theorising (Orlikowski and Feldman, 2011). Hence, the division between internal and external recognition is unsustainable, as it implicates dichotomous theorising based on the division between insiders and outsiders. Instead, I maintain that the division between external and internal recognition does not consider the possibility of actors playing two fields at the same time. This inability to address how actors shift between games and fields becomes problematic in the context of academia because the practices of professional self-control are currently used in research audits and setting benchmarks for other academics (Enders et al., 2009). Thus, engagement with research audits empowers academic elites further, as they are mastering not only the scientific field but also setting the rules for the managerial field (Musselin, 2013).

While my criticism of the existing formulations of career capital can be brushed aside by noting that career agency is not the primary object the discussed frames, the criticism can be related to the inherent tensions in career studies. As I identify out in Section 2.1, one of the fundamental questions in career studies is 'whether careers are mainly the product of institutional frameworks or of individual agency' (Inkson et al., 2012: 327). Consequently, the competency-based approach exemplifies an approach that overemphasises individual agency (Roper et al., 2011), while the Bourdieusian frame attempts to combine these two dimensions. While the Bourdieusian framing of career capital acknowledges the influence of the wider field, however, the framing of the career field is somewhat elusive. By 'elusive', I mean that there is no clear description of how to address career fields in empirical research. As Siekkinen et al. (2017) note, academic careers are constituted by two components: the organisational and the individual. Hence, I take an organisational context as my empirical setting, in which I explore how engagement with academic work results in career trajectories. In this regard, the notions of authority and career capital can be seen as a mutually constitutive conceptual pair that addresses the two sides of academic careers: the organisational and individual (Siekkinen et al., 2017). Thus, I start with the notion of authority to explain how I address the context of career agency, after which I turn my attention to the concept of career capital.

4.3.1 Authority: Mapping relations constituting the context for career-making

In the previous section, I discuss the two formulations of career capital, labelled as the competency-based and the Bourdieusian-based approach to career capital (Iellatchitch et al., 2003; Arthur et al., 1999). While each approach has its merits, and while they have been successfully applied to academic and researcher careers (Angervall and Gustaffson, 2014;

Figure 4.2 Career agency at the intersection of gender and the organisation of academic work and the expectations placed on academic work



Duberley and Cohen, 2010), I propose the application of the following two conceptual tools: the notion of authority and the concept of career capital in research analysis to address the context and conditions of career agency. In this context, authority directs attention to the career field by mapping out the relations that organise academic work, and subsequently, providing the context for career-making. The concept of career capital, on the other hand, draws attention to how engagement with academic work accumulates into career capital and furthers movement within that context. This conceptualisation allows exploration of how the expectations placed on academic work shape career trajectories.

This understanding is captured in Figure 4.2, which highlights how authority addresses the organisation of academic work, whereas career capital draws attention to the expectations placed on individual academic work. In this regard, career agency emerges in between these two notions through engagement in academic work, while the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwine both with the organisation of and the expectations placed on academic work. In my conceptual framing, I define authority as a set of practices and the consequences of practices that place individual academics in certain

Table 4.2 The conceptual underpinnings of authority	
Authority positions individuals in certain relations with each other and their activities.	Authority interlinks individual actions with the wider field.
Authority is based on a certain legitimation.	Authorities intersect and are mutually constitutive.

relations to each other and to their activities. In contrast to the concept of career capital, divided into social, cultural, and economic career capitals in line with Bourdieu (1986), I do not propose predefined labels or titles for authority. Instead, I emphasise the exploratory nature of authority as a concept, by which I mean that while certain principles guide the operationalisation of authority, the final labelling of authority should reflect the underpinning legitimation of that authority. Thus, as I demonstrate in Chapter 6, the organisation of academic work at State University Business School concurs with bureaucratic, professorial, and managerial authorities, whereas collegiate, professional, and managerial authorities provide the underlying principles for the organisation of academic work at University College Business School. As I discuss the empirical application of authority in more detail in Chapter 6, I map out the conceptual underpinnings in this section.

The conceptual underpinnings of authority are summarised in the following four principles: authority is based on a certain legitimation which positions individuals in particular relations with each other and their work activities. Moreover, authority interlinks individual actions with the wider field through ramification, and authorities intersect and are mutually constitutive with each other. As table 4.2 shows, the first two principles focus on relations that characterise a specific organisational career context while the two latter principles address the embeddedness of career contexts. The first principle captures the essence of authority and provides the starting point for the operationalisation of authority. That is authority positions individuals in particular relations with each other or their activities. This understanding draws on Watson's (2017) observation about how practices form relations

that shape actions and the capacity to act. Consequently, my conceptualisation of authority directs attention to underpinning power relations. 'Power' is not here understood in the sense of someone asserting power over another (Lukes, 2005) or as internalised subjectivities (Foucault, 1977). Instead, it is understood as a set of practices and the consequences of those practices, which are deemed to be legitimate or rational according to the authority in question. This conception therefore shapes what can be done in specific contexts. As authority remains in the sphere of the social, it can be observed in how individuals engage with and are positioned in relation to their colleagues and working practices.

The second principle asserts that authorities provide the legitimation for the set of practices and the subsequent positioning to other academics and academic practices. In my conceptualisation, I draw on Clark's (1986: 107) work in which authority is understood as one of the essential elements of organising higher education system and is defined as 'broad patterns of legitimate power'. Nevertheless, I do not distinguish the different levels of authorities, as Clark (1986) does. Instead, I emphasise the provision of a self-evident logic for doing something. Thus, my conception of authority resembles what Räsänen (2005) refers to as 'logic' when capturing the underlying principles according to which decision-making concerning academic work are organised. In the Finnish context, Räsänen (2005) identifies the following four logics: the autonomic collegiate disciplinary logic, the legal and bureaucratic state logic, the tri-partite democratic logic, and the managerial logic. However, as logics are associated with university governance and framed as layers present in decision-making situations (Räsänen, 2005), my formulation of authority understands it as an underpinning logic or legitimation of how academic work is organised and how individuals are positioned in relation to each other and their activities.

The two following principles assert that authority interlinks individual actions with the wider

field through ramification, and authorities intersect and are mutually constitutive with each other. Rather than referring to a career field and the interplay between diverse fields (Iellatchitch et al., 2003), I emphasise an understanding in which individuals and their actions are a part of a continuum that extends across the whole university sector and beyond. Thus, while I take a particular organisational setting as a focal point for empirical analysis, I do not draw a conceptual division between micro and macro levels. Instead, as Gherardi (2006: xvii) notes, all practices are located 'within a broader field of practices which ramify in every direction, from the individual to organizations to institutions to ever more complex systems'. This argument entails that authority allows explorations into how the developments on the broader field shape the conditions of career-making in an organisational setting.

The fourth principle claims that authorities intersect and are mutually constitutive of each other. Thus, it addresses the issue of intertwinement within career fields. As I point out in Chapter 2, the division between academic and managerial stances is not necessarily as straightforward as is often anticipated (Lund, 2015; Musselin, 2013; Enders et al., 2009; Kolsaker, 2008). In practical terms, the intersection of authorities occurs when practices, such as PhD supervisions or publishing, are exposed to and organised in accordance with multiple authorities. Hence, authorities draw attention to the messy organisational career contexts; consequently, intersecting authorities allow one to address how academic and managerial stances shape the conditions of career-making in academic organisations.

4.3.2 Career capital: Accumulation of working practices into career agency

In the case of career capital, my starting point is that career capital emerges from engagement

with work-related activities. Still, this engagement requires acknowledgement from other actors within the same career field to accumulate into career capital; with this requirement in mind, I adopt certain aspects of the Bourdieusian approach to career capital proposed by Iellatchitch et al. (2003), as well as from the competency-based formulations of career capital (Arthur et al., 1999; Defillipi and Arthur, 1994). While the former emphasises the importance of acknowledgement by others, the latter spotlights agency in the form of career investments. The concept of career capital thus brings into focus how engagement in academic work results in career agency captured in three dimensions on economic, social, and cultural capitals, as summarised in Table 4.3. As I discuss the empirical application of career capital in more detail in Chapter 8, this section maps out the conceptual definitions of economic, social, and cultural career capitals used in this research as they relate to existing formulations.

Table 4.3 Career capitals

Type of capital	Definition of capital	Reference in practices
Economic career capital	Emerges from a set of practices and consequences of those practices that are consequential in accumulating financial gains, both private and public	Research grants, faculty income, scholarships
Social career capital	Emergent from a set of practices and consequences of those practices that are consequential in establishing and maintaining professional relations	Attending and presenting at conferences, research visits
Cultural career capital	Emergent from a set of practices and consequences of those practices that are consequential in maintaining and reproducing academic profession	PhD supervision, recruitment, promotions, mentoring

In my formulation of economic career capital, I understand it as emergent from a set of practices and consequences of those practices that are consequential in accumulating financial gains, both private and public. Hence, my definition concurs with existing conceptions that frame economic capital in reference to monetary aspects of career capital (Lamb and Sutherland, 2010). In contrast to other forms of capital, economic capital can be accumulated and passed to future generations or easily converted into cultural and social capital (Calhoun et al., 1993; Bourdieu, 1986). While the question of future generations might be irrelevant in the context of career agency, Iellatchitch et al. (2003) frame economic capital as essential in communicating expected and valued from individuals positioned in a particular career field.

While the marketisation of academic activities is examined in the existing research (Brown and Carusso, 2013; Ylijoki et al., 2011), academics and their work might not yet fully follow the logic of economic rewards. Instead, academics often engage in activities such as peer-reviewing articles for pro-profit publishing houses without receiving monetary rewards. Blackmore and Kandiko (2011) adeptly capture these activities under in the frame of 'prestige economy' to explain the motivations for academics to engage in activities without monetary rewards. The notion of 'prestige economy' suggests that, while the ability to attract and ensure research funding is becoming an increasingly important factor in academia, acknowledgement and approval in academia are communicated through notions of academic excellence and prestige (Blackmore, 2015). This is not to say that economic career capital is entirely irrelevant. On the contrary, economic capital in the context of academia and academic careers is often associated with the research grants and scholarships that fund academic activities or can be translated into academic credentials (Duberley and Cohen, 2010).

The existing definitions of social capital often reframe it as a resource stemming from durable networks, relationships, and mutual acquaintances (Bourdieu, 1986). Resonantly, Defillipi and Arthur (1994) apply the term 'know-whom' to refer to social and professional relations. However, I depart from the individualist framing of social capital, which often emphasises career success achieved through strategic and beneficial networking. Instead, I concur with Field (2008) who focuses on shared values amongst those within a social network. Consequently, my conceptualisation of social career capital has an element of know-whom, making reference to social networks (Defillipi and Arthur, 1994); moreover, it extends it to sociality in terms of group memberships or affiliations (Iellatchitch et al., 2003). Hence, rather than mapping out professional networks, I attend to the practices and consequences of those practices that result in and maintain group memberships and affiliations within and across academic communities. This point of focus produces an understanding in which all academic activities have the potential to accumulate social career capital. Nevertheless, the accumulation of social career capital requires acknowledgement from other actors in the field.

In the literature, cultural capital is often assigned to skills, abilities, and educational achievements (Duberley and Cohen, 2010), which Iellatchitch et al. (2003) summarise in terms of education, culture, and cultivation, in line with Bourdieu. Building on this summary, cultural capital relates to inequalities, as differences in cultural capital become observable in how individuals are able to translate economic capital into other forms of capital (Moore, 2012). While this observation is not necessarily directly applicable to academia, the understanding of cultural capital as a source of inequalities is not necessarily farfetched in academia either. The US context draws attention to the link between academic prestige and academic careers. Hadani et al. (2012) note how a degree from a highly ranked institution and the first position in academia if secured from a highly ranked institution, correlate with

the subsequent career success. Along these lines, academic cultural career capital could be seen to resonate with academic prestige, which in context of academic career capital means being educated in institutions that are deemed desirable by others (Blackmore, 2015).

However, rather than focusing on prestige in cultural career capital, I understand prestige as emerging from a set of practices and their consequences in maintaining and reproducing the academic profession. The reason I prioritise the academic profession in my definition of cultural career capital is related to Bourdieu's (1986: 47) definition of cultural capital, which he understands in its embodied state to exist 'in the form of long-lasting disposition of the mind and body'. To gain this kind of capital, Bourdieu (1986: 48) maintains that individuals have to engage with 'a process of embodiment, incorporation' constituted mostly by 'a labour of inculcation and assimilation'. While I depart from Bourdieu's (1986) division of cultural capital into embodied, objectified, and institutionalised, I note that the definition of cultural capital, in its embodied form, approaches the notion of professionalism as an occupational value (Evetts, 2013; 2011). Evetts (2011) maintains that professionalism as an occupational value is constituted by aspects of lengthy education which result in a shared sense of identity and sense of work, as well as discretion in judgement. While Bourdieu (1986) and Evetts (2011) differ in terms of theoretical underpinnings and points of reference, they also have similarities, as both cultural capital and professionalism refer to acquired taste, skills, and discretion.

The association between cultural capital and professionalism means that activities such as doctoral research, mentoring, and promotions can be seen as sets of practices that aim to cultivate and reproduce academic profession, whereas other sets of practices, such as teaching and research, revolve around maintaining the academic profession. Moreover, cultural career capital can be seen as essential in producing and preserving divisions within

and between academic fields, as the ability engage with and exhibit what are deemed correct and desirable academic practices reflect the acquisition of cultural career capital. Therefore, access to academic cultural career capital can be seen as a source of inequality. Thus, cultural career capital draws attention to tensions within professions (Schinkel and Noordegraaf, 2011). Accordingly, my formulation of cultural career capital does not take the values attached to the academic profession as given, but rather allows one to scrutinise the tensions that emerge under current conditions of academic work.

4.4 The limitations and concerns in the conceptual framework applied in this research

In Section 4.3, I discuss how I drew on practice-based studies in order to address the question of gender and work in academia. To further my discussion, I turn my attention to the problems related to my conceptual framework. As I address the question of generalisability in Section 5.6, my focus in this section is on how conceptual frameworks emerge and are used at the interface of existing research and theoretical underpinnings and research practice. Drawing on this understanding, I maintain that while the theoretical foundations might warn against certain concerns, unreflexive engagement with the existing research can create limitations in how the conceptual framework is operationalised in research analysis.

Considering that academic careers are often described in individualistic terms emphasising the competitive dimension of academia (Clarke and Knights, 2015; Clarke et al., 2012), academic career capital can be seen to further the understanding of academics as competitive, individualistic endeavourers. This concern can be warranted. Roper et al. (2011) note how the notion of boundaryless careers, in particular, has furthered the emergence of neoliberal subjects. Building on this argument, the notion of career capital can

advance the individualisation of academics by placing the blame for career failures on academics themselves, in line with what Cappelli (2000: 1169) calls 'employability doctrine'. While the conscious decision to focus on interdependencies in career-making would already provide a critical position regarding the employability doctrine, this position affirmed by my selected theoretical underpinnings in practice-based studies. As I prioritise practices in my research analysis (Nicolini, 2012), my focus is not individuals, their capabilities, and their attitudes, as such. Instead, I focus on the context and conditions of career agency, producing an approach in which my empirical discussion does not advance a new 'heroic ideal model' to be followed. Instead, my subsequent empirical chapters attend to the sets of practices resulting in career capitals and authorities, and the consequences of those practices for practitioners (Gherardi, 2009). Hence, I further develop the critical stance that is already present in the existing research. Duberley and Cohen (2010) not only note how career capital is dynamic and local, but also identify how the differences in access to career capital result in inequalities.

However, the second point of criticism can be found in one of the studies I have myself criticised. As Laudel and Gläser (2008: 389) note, the focus on organisations 'comes at the price of entirely neglecting scientific communities'. This is true for my research, as my attention is on organisations. Given that academic careers are embedded in disciplinary communities in the UK (Strike and Tylor, 2008), disregarding them is one of the significant limitations of my conceptual framework. My justification for not paying attention to academic communities is the initial focus of my research: this research began as an exploration of new managerialism and gender regimes. With few exceptions exploring the influence of research audits on disciplinary fields (Lee et al., 2013), the academic position is often described in general terms as engagement with academic work or profession (Henkel, 2000). Hence, while the notion of cultural career capital provides a conceptual

framework that can be used in a research inquiry concerning disciplinary communities, I felt that the disciplinary dimension is irrelevant in the context of this research inquiry.

The decision to neglect the disciplinary dimension directed my data collection and shaped how I worked towards my conceptual model. Thus, questions such as how disciplinary fields and the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwine other or how those who are currently on teaching-focused career trajectories or who have become 'third space professionals' relying on disciplinary communities in their career trajectories (Strike, 2010; Whitchurch, 2008) are not discussed in this work. The latter area is somewhat under-researched, to my knowledge. Thus, there is a need for further work to explore how disciplinary communities and academic career trajectories based on a certain dimension of academic work interact with each other. Still, my failure to address disciplinary communities draws attention to how conceptual frameworks are not solely a matter of theoretical consideration in qualitative research. Instead, they emerge at the interface of existing research and actual research practice.

4.5 Conclusion: A conceptual framework to address the context and conditions of career agency

In this chapter, I set first to detail the underpinning principles of practice-based studies and to discuss how I apply these principles to my conceptual framework. As I note at the beginning of this chapter, no unified theory of practice exists (Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, 2001). Instead, practice-based studies can be defined as ontological projects which provide a specific vocabulary and a lens through which to observe the social (Nicolini, 2012; Gherardi, 2012; Schatzki, 2001). Drawing on this understanding, I place myself in the branch of studies that use the term practice-based studies and focus on organisational learning, work

studies, and professional practice (Nicolini, 2012; Gherardi, 2014; 2009; 2006). In practical terms, I give priority to practices, defined as 'situated actions' that are 'consequential in the production of social life', as a unit of analysis (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011: 1241). This framing aligns with my approach to career studies, as I take academic work and engagement in it to be an entry point to my research analysis.

My approach to career and gender starts from the understanding that diversification within the social space occurs through a dual process. In this process, individuals are positioned either as females or as males, based on the shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity at the same time and on engagement with working practices accumulating into status and competence differences (Gherardi, 2006; Bruni et al., 2005). I, therefore, depart from the assumption that women are automatically placed disadvantageously in various structures (Eden, 2017; Connell, 2005). Instead, I emphasise the intertwinement of gender practices with other ongoing practices. In practical terms, this approach becomes layered, with attention placed first on the context and conditions and then on how these intertwine with locally shared practical understandings of femininity and masculinity.

The rationale for this layered approach is two-fold. On the one hand, academic women are neither immune to academic hierarchies nor a homogenous group but are, as Lund (2012) notes, placed differently in institutional orders. This placement, subsequently, shapes how women can place themselves in relation to academic ideals (Lund, 2012). On the other hand, as I point out in Sections 2.3 and 2.4, the conditions for academic career-making are shaped by various developments, from the marketisation of academic work to the massification of university sectors (Brown and Carasso, 2013; Ylijoki et al., 2011; Clark, 1986). The consequences of those shifts and developments for academics and their careers cannot necessarily be captured in terms of dichotomies such as academic versus managerial or

feminine versus masculine. My conceptual framework thus provides a conceptual lens that is not limited by conceptual dichotomies and theorisations.

To further my discussion in the following chapter, I turn my attention to my methodology and discuss how I execute my research in practice. As Nicolini (2012) points out, practice-based studies reject the assumption of 'reality' being out there to be captured through observation. Thus, my research inquiry draws on qualitative methods, and to be more specific, a holistic multiple case study combined with methods from grounded theory (Yin, 2014; Halaweh et al., 2008; Charmaz, 2006). Consequently, I discuss in Chapter 5 how the case study frame can be applied to career studies, how I conducted this research inquiry, and issues that can emerge in the context of PhD research.

CHAPTER FIVE
APPLYING A CASE STUDY METHOD TO INDUCTIVE ACADEMIC CAREER RESEARCH

In the previous three chapters, I discussed the empirical and conceptual grounds for my research. Chapters 2 and 3 explore how the notion of agency has been addressed in the existing approaches and how the conditions of academic career-making and the situation of academic women have evolved both in Finland and England. The central theme in my discussion is the notion of agency and how it is addressed both in career and gender studies. As I point out in Chapter 2, the question of agency tends to linger in discussions revolving around old and new careers, which can be understood as the two contrasting career paradigms (Inkson et al., 2012; Arthur et al., 1995). In this context, old careers represent approaches that tend to frame careers as an organisational phenomenon; whereas, new careers understand them as individual property (Inkson et al., 2012; Arthur et al., 1995). While there have been calls for a contextual turn in career studies (Inkson et al., 2012; Tams and Arthur, 2010), no widely agreed upon approach or solution regarding how to conceptualise agency or to combine the two approaches together has emerged. Thus, this research takes the notion of career agency (Tams and Arthur, 2010) as an entry point and explores how to conceptualise it in career research. Chapter 4 outlines the tenets of practice-based studies and discusses the conceptual framework used in this research inquiry.

The differences in how the university sector and gender relations in academia have evolved (HEFCE, 2017; Statistics Finland, 2016; Brown and Carasso, 2013; Teichler et al., 2013; Tirronen and Nokkala, 2009; Husu, 2000; Bagilhole, 1993a) mean that Finland and England provide ideal cases for exploring how to capture and address the context and conditions of career agency. As I point out in the previous chapter, I draw on the tenets of practice-based studies, which sets certain limitations on research methodology. As practice-based studies reject the assumption of 'reality' being 'out there' to be captured through observations (Nicolini, 2012), this research inquiry draws on qualitative methods underpinned by inductive reasoning. In practical terms, this stance translates into a research approach based on a holistic multiple case study framework combined with methods from grounded theory (Yin, 2014; Halaweh et al., 2008; Charmaz, 2006). Thus, this chapter seeks to answer the following question: *How does this research draw on the tenets of a case study framework supported by methods of grounded theory to address the careers of academic women in two business schools?*

The discussion in this chapter concurs with Stake's (2003: 136) observations that, 'case study is both a process of inquiry about the case and the product of that inquiry'. Thus, this chapter starts from the very beginning of this research inquiry and maps out the different stages, from initial ideas to data analysis. Hence, Section 5.1 discusses the initial development of research issues; Section 5.2 focuses on data collection; Section 5.3 explores data analysis and is divided into three sub-sections: Section 5.3.1 begins with the initial stage of explanation-building; 5.3.2 discusses focused coding; and 5.3.3 covers the finalisation of data analysis through iterative writing. In Section 5.4, the attention is on research ethics. Section 5.5 discusses the limitations in the research methods, before this chapter concludes in Section 5.6.

5.1 The initial development of research issues

While research design is often described as a logical map that reveals how the researcher gets from here to there (Yin, 2014), the realities of inductive PhD research are not necessarily so straightforward. In the case of this study, the origins are in Universities in Knowledge Economy (UNIKE) a European Union funded ITN that ran between 2012 and 2017. In early 2013, I applied for a project called 'Management and gender'. The project description is included in Appendix 4. As explained in Table 5.1, the initial focus of my research was not on business schools but on gender beliefs and academic leadership. However, as I point out in this section, the foci of research had already begun to shift before I started my data collection.

One of the decisions that led to changes in research foci was the choice of research site. Based on observations suggesting that business schools operate within a highly ranked and marketised field (Wedlin, 2011; 2006), this research assumed that business schools would provide a suitable location to explore how managerialism and gender intersect in academia. However, as the focus shifted to business schools, two caveats emerged. First, the number of interviewees reduced significantly, and it would be difficult to ensure interviewees' anonymity satisfactorily in both country contexts owing to the fact that the number of women in academic leadership in business schools is relatively low. Thus, to ensure a wider pool of potential interviewees and to provide anonymity, I shifted my attention from academic leadership to the careers of academic women.

While the focus of my research shifted, I retained the comparative research perspective. That said, instead of aiming for a cross-country comparison, this research draws on the understanding that comparative research strategy 'challenges our conceptual understanding

Table 5.1 The development of issue statements		
The stage of research	**Issue statements**	**Issue questions**
Application March 2013	Women in academic leadership must overcome gender beliefs related both to the academic profession and academic leadership.	How are gender beliefs enacted in academic leadership and in the academic profession? How are these gender beliefs perceived by the women in academic leadership?
RBD2 Project approval June 2014 (prior to data collection)	My starting point is that neither new managerialism nor gender is a monolithic phenomenon, but, rather, these are diverse constructions that are continuously reconstructed and renegotiated.	[w]hat types of social hierarchies does the intersection of prevailing gender regimes and new managerial working conditions create in business schools, and how are the careers of women academics in business school shaped by this intersection?
UNIKE workshop February 2015 (after finishing interviewing for the English case study)	This research interrogates how the careers of academic women in business schools have been shaped by academic, managerial, and gender practices, and how these diverse practices reflect current new managerial higher education policies.	How are the careers of academic women shaped by academic, managerial, and gender practices?

of the topic under study' and furthers theory development (Bleiklie, 2014: 382). Building on this understanding, a comparative research strategy provides an approach that allows questioning the taken-for-granted assumptions (Bleiklie, 2014; Dale, 2006) that are often associated with gender and new managerialism.

To address the initial issue – questions concerning the prevailing gender regimes and new managerial working conditions in two business schools – this research draws on the tenets of holistic multiple case study framework (Yin, 2014; Gillham, 2010). The reason for this approach is that the case-study method allows the researcher to address phenomena that do not have clearly defined boundaries and that can be studied only in context (Gillham, 2010; Yin, 2014; Stake, 1995). In this context, a holistic multiple case study framework refers to a

specific formulation of a case study. Careers are addressed as a whole instead of being divided into analytical sub-units, and they are regarded as being embedded in certain contexts. Thus, there is no division made between early or established academics or different career-related practices, such as recruitment or promotion, but they are all analysed as part of a whole. Moreover, this research conforms to what Stake (1995) calls an instrumental case study. In such a study, the case is not the focus of the research as such, but is used to explore something else. Therefore, the careers of academic women were initially framed as cases through which the attempt was made to explore how the prevailing gender regimes and new managerial working conditions result in social hierarchies in certain organisational contexts.

As a case study does not necessarily begin with a predefined theoretical or conceptual framework, it draws on a set of issue statements and questions that direct the researcher to useful data generation from a large number of features (Yin, 2014; Hammersley and Gomm, 2009; Stake, 1995). As listed in Table 5.1, the issue statements and questions concern the conditions of the careers of academic women in two business schools. To collect data about these conditions, this research draws on qualitative semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The rationale for using semi-structured qualitative interviews is that they enable the reconstruction of events that have taken place prior to the time of the interview; consequently, they provide access to perspectives that cannot be obtained through other methods (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Rubin and Rubin, 2004). To ensure that a similar set of topics would be covered in all the interviews, the questions were based on an interview protocol that is summarised in Table 5.2. The full protocol is included in Appendix 1.

Drawing on the initial issue statement, which emphasises the intersection of prevailing gender regimes and new managerial working, as well as how the careers of women

Table 5.2 The outline for the interview protocol	
The section	**The aim of the section**
1 The career Five questions that explore the motives for entering into academia and the current position within the business school.	The positioning within the business school To discuss the current position within the business school.
2 Reflecting on the career so far Five questions that explore the major incidents, struggles, and social aspects of academic career-making	How this position emerged To construct the career progression so far and the context of career-making
3 Working practices Nine questions that focus on daily working practices, accountability, success in academic work, and how the interviewee is positioned in relation to diverse dimensions of academic work.	Academic practices To explore the local academic practices and how these are perceived in the business school and by the interviewee
4 The business school/management in it Six questions that explore how the business school is managed, who the managers are, and how decisions are made in the business school	Managerial working conditions To map out the managerial practices, who engages in them, and how they are perceived
5 Gender and future Six questions that examine gender, how gender is perceived by the interviewee, and what are the interviewee's plans for the future	Gender regimes To map out whether and how the interviewee associates gender with university management/ academic career

academics are shaped by this intersection, the interview protocol consists of five areas. The first two areas focus on academic careers so far, the following two on academic work and the management of the business school, and the final area focuses on gender and plans for future. When developing the interview protocol, I decided not to use any specific terms, such as research, teaching, or administration, but asked about the interviewees' work in more general terms, such as, 'what do you do on daily basis?' or, 'how would you describe what you do on daily basis to someone who does not know anything about academic work?' The rationale for this approach was that I wanted my interviewees to use their own terms. In hindsight, the decision not to use certain terms might have caused comparability problems, as I point out in Section 5.5.

While the document analysis can be considered to support triangulation by corroborating interview data, or by providing 'evidence that can be used to clarify, or perhaps, to challenge what is being told' (Yanow, 2007: 441), I gathered documents to obtain a holistic understanding of academic careers. In other words, the aim was to obtain an additional perspective of the issues raised in the interviews. By collecting documents, I attempted to understand how academic careers and academic work are recorded and described in official contexts. By official contexts, I refer to institutions and organisations that set the frame for academic work and academic careers. Thus, the focus was on primary sources (Finnegan, 2006), and I collected documents from the business schools, such as promotion frameworks or annual reports. I gathered documents from actors within the respective higher education field also, including collective agreements, legal acts, and policy documents. The categories are mapped out in more detail in the following section.

5.2 The description of data collection

In the previous section, I discuss the preparation for data collection. One of the major factors that shaped this research was the selection of research sites. When selecting my research sites, I searched for established business schools located within research-intensive universities and that have a relatively high proportion of women among their academic staff in all academic ranks. Considering the debates about studying your own community (Aarnikoivu, 2016), I decided not to use the business school I was based at as a research site. Instead, I approached institutions and organisations I had not studied at or worked in previously. In other words, I have never held a scholarship, employment, or studentship at either 'University College Business School' or 'State University Business School' (both of which are pseudonyms). The Finnish research site is referred to as State University Business School; whereas, the English site is called University College Business School. In this

context, it is relevant to point out that the selected pseudonyms are used to point out the historical differences between the two countries' contexts.

As I did not have any previous contacts with either the business school or the university, one of my first actions was to obtain access to the research sites. Initially, when searching for suitable research sites, I used my social networks or directly approached the business schools. After having identified potential research sites, I approached the management of the business schools to obtain permission to recruit interviewees. Prior to my data collection, I researched the business schools' web pages. Using the staff directories, I created an overview of how academic women and men were positioned across academic ranks and departments. I used this listing to recruit interviewees. While the number of women across ranks and departments might have been available by asking, the reason for using web pages was that they offered an impression of how the business schools present themselves to outsiders. That is, there might be discrepancies between the staff listings and the actual faculty owing to the delays in updating the new faculty or removing those who have moved on in their careers.

The interviews at the English business school took place between November 2014 and January 2015; whereas, the Finnish interviews were conducted between March 2015 and April 2015. In the English case, I had a meeting with the Head of the Business School to obtain insights into the establishment. For both research sites, I used emails to recruit interviewees. For the English site, I sent an introductory email to all the women, after which I sent further invitations to selected women to obtain a balanced sample. For the Finnish site, I was unable to send a general invitation email to all the women. Thus, I sent emails to selected women. To further the comparability between the two cases, I focused only on subject groups and units that engaged with all dimensions of academic work. Thus, those units that focus solely on MBA course provision or contract research were excluded.

Table 5.3 Description of the collected data		
Finland	**State University Business School**	
	Interviews 15 Academic rank 3 Professors 4 University Lecturers 2 Lecturers 2 Specialist researchers 1 Postdoctoral fellow 1 Project researcher 2 University teachers	Variation within the sample Subject groups in total: 7 Permanent/temporary contracts Two locations
	Collected documents A selection of legal and policy documents related to academic work A selection of documents produced within or primarily for the business school, such as quality and audit handbooks, statutes, procedural manuals, and web pages Statistical data about academic women in Finland	
England	**University College Business School**	
	Interviews 10 Academic rank 4 Professors 1 Reader 2 Senior Lecturers 3 Lecturers	Variation within the sample Subject groups in total: 4 Research/teaching career track Teaching-focused career track Academic leadership
	Collected documents A selection of legal and policy documents related to academic work A selection of documents produced within or primarily for the business school, such as quality and audit handbooks, statutes, procedural manuals, and web pages. Statistical data about academic women in England	

The selection of interviewees followed the logic of maximum variation, which aims 'at capturing and describing the central themes or principal outcomes that cut across a great deal of participant or program variation' (Patton, 1990: 172). As discussed in a previous section, the starting point for this research inquiry was to explore how social hierarchies emerge from the prevailing gender regimes and new managerial working conditions, as well as how these factors intersect in the careers of women academics. Therefore, to obtain an understanding of how gender regimes and new managerial working conditions vary, I used career stage as the logic for maximum variation. While interviewing established academics can help to

understand the changes that have occurred in academia, early career academics can draw attention to how the current conditions of academic work are perceived by those who just have recently entered academia. Moreover, as the focus of this study is on the careers of academic women, I excluded men from my research. This decision was based on observations suggesting that women's careers are faced with certain themes, such as the changing rhythms of caring being less prevalent in men's careers (Sabelis, 2010). Thus, while interviewing men might have raised interesting points about academic careers in general, they may have lacked an insider's view of how the careers of academic women emerge and are sustained in certain contexts.

The final number of interviewees (25) was determined by the English case. In this case, 10 interviews amounted to one-third of all the women who worked at the school at the time. While the number of women working for the Finnish business school was much higher, around 170 in early 2015, the decision was made to keep the number of interviewees similar to the English case. Had the interview sample included one-third of the women working at State University Business School, this would have amounted to well over 50 interviews. This number would have unbalanced the data considerably in favour of State University Business School.

In both cases, I visited the business schools only to conduct the interviews. As the aim was to keep the style of interviews conversational, I used the interview protocol as a guideline. Therefore, the order of questions varied, and I posed additional questions in some interviews to map out the Finnish academic career structure and the professorial appointment procedure. In some cases, I decided not to follow the interview protocol owing to the interviewees' expertise in specific matters, such as academic leadership or the professorial appointment procedure. The length of the interviews varied from one hour to two hours. I collected around

36.5 hours of taped interviews. Following the interviews, I wrote short notes in which I recorded my observations during the interview and described briefly whether there was anything unusual happening in the business school or at other events, such as conferences or workshops, I visited during my research project. All the interviews were fully transcribed verbatim. I transcribed half the interviews, and professional transcribers did the rest, which I then checked.

Since interviewing the academic women required visits to the field sites, the document collection was mostly desktop research. Appendix 3 provides a more comprehensive description of the collected documents. The first category, marked as a) in the list, includes documents that are relevant for discussing the university sector but are not specific to the business school. Most of these documents describe the empirical background of the cases. The second category, which is marked as b) in the list, comprises documents specifically related to the business schools or relevant for understanding how academic work is evaluated and how careers progress. Thus, in contrast to the documents categorised a), the documents in the category b) are used to explore the conditions of academic work. The statistics in category c) are used in Appendix 6, as I summarise in Table 5.3. The rationale for selecting these documents is that they are related to academic work either in terms of defining what is valued in such work, or how academic work contributes to career progression.

As most of the documents were collected from the Internet, I use general descriptions in the document list to conceal the identity of both business schools. In addition, I have replaced certain terms with ones that are used more frequently either in the Finnish or English contexts. While the interviews were conducted between November 2014 and April 2015, the collection of documents continued to the writing-up stage. That said, none of the documents were exposed to a similar coding process as the interviews. Instead, I used the documents to

obtain further information regarding the issues raised in the interviews or to cover areas that were not addressed.

5.3 Data analysis following data collection

In the previous sections, the discussion focuses on the preparation and data collection. As I note already in Section 5.1, the issue statements had already shifted before the data collection took place; similarly, there were shifts during data collection. As Table 5.1 points out, the initial issue statements drew on the notions of gender regimes and new managerial working conditions and assumed that these lead to social hierarchies. However, after the first set on interviews were conducted at University College Business School, the issue statements shifted to concern how the careers of academic women are shaped by managerial, academic, and gender practices that might reflect the current new managerial higher education policies.

While the changes in the issue statements and questions could reflect a failure to operationalise the conceptual framework, this view does not acknowledge how inductive research inquiry is never a straightforward process. Instead, the particularities of research settings and what the researcher faces when they collect data might lead changes in the foci of research (Tracy, 2012), as happened in this study. In contrast to my assumptions about business schools being highly managed organisations, the English research site had retained a collegiate ethos. At the same time, the notion of new managerialism as described in research conducted in the British context (Clarke and Knights, 2015; Clarke et al., 2012) did not resonate with practice at the Finnish research site. Thus, the subsequent data analysis can be divided into four periods in which the main emphasis is either on data or existing literature, as I summarise in Figure 5.1.

That said, the data analysis is not only characterised by shifts between data analysis and existing theories, but also between research methods. In the focused coding, the initial framework of holistic multiple case-study method is combined with approaches from grounded theory. The reasons for drawing on grounded theory concern, on the one hand, how the shift from research issues to conceptual framework is not that clearly described in the existing literature; on the other hand, the changes in issue questions meant that the underpinning conceptual relations had to be reconstructed also. The first point is mentioned by Baxter and Jack (2008). They note that although both Yin (2014) and Stake (1995) suggest that research issues provide a basis for a conceptual framework, neither provide a description of how a conceptual model is constructed for further references (Baxter and Jack, 2008). However, in the case of this research, the second point – changing the research issues – posed a more urgent need to rethink how to approach the analysis. The changes in research issues during data collection meant that the underpinning conceptual relations had to be reconstructed as well. Hence, there was a need for a set of methodological tools that explicitly focus on theory development and identifying conceptual links.

The combination of case study and grounded theory is not uncommon, as it has sometimes been applied in information systems research (Halaweh et al. 2008). In this context, O'Connor (2012) proposes the application of grounded theory in data analysis, which is the approach taken in this current research. Among the various strands of grounded theory, from realist approaches (Locke, 2001) to feminist formulations of grounded theory (Plummer and Young, 2010; Wuest, 1995), this study draws on Charmaz's constructivist approach (Charmaz, 2014; 2006) and the works of Strauss and Corbin (2008; 1990). Thus, in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, the discussion focuses first on the logic of explanation-building followed by a description of initial coding in Section 5.3.2 (Yin, 2014; Charmaz, 2006). Then, Section 5.3.3 explains the finalisation of the data analysis through iterative writing.

5.3.1 The first stage: finding a focus through explanation testing

According to Yin (2014), explanation-building is as an analytical approach in which data analysis begins with a statement that the findings are compared with. Based on this comparison, the initial statements are either accepted or revised and compared with the results from the second case. This process is repeated until there is no need to amend the statement as the case is sufficiently prescribed (Yin, 2014). While explanation-building is often applied to identify causal links, and can be used as the primary method for whole data analysis (Yin, 2014), this study draws on the logic of explanation to test issue questions to identify how the three conceptual dimensions of academic and managerial practices and gender can be brought together in a conceptual framework, and which of them provides an entry point for further analysis.

As Tables 5.4 and 5.5 summarise, the explanation testing is divided into two stages. The first stage focused on managerialism or new public management and academic work; whereas, the second used academic work as an entry point for analysis. In addition, while the data analysis could be summarised as shifts between the existing research and data, there were two stages of statistical and literature reviews, listed in Table 5.6 in-between the explanation testing. The reason for returning to the existing literature in the middle of data analysis was to obtain a more solid understanding of how university governance and gender relations have evolved in Finland and England. As it was not possible to increase the number of cases, I shifted between the two cases to confirm or refute my observations, often using the English case as a starting point. In practical terms, the explanation testing was conducted using unpublished papers presented in the UNIKE workshops and conferences.

Table 5.4 The development of issues during explanation-building, beginning from new public management perspectives	
Explored issue questions	**Findings in data**
How is university management intertwined with gender inequalities in the Finnish and English cases? (Sex and Capital, June 2015)	Gender inequalities are related to decisions made elsewhere (promotions/salaries). Consequently, gender is not necessarily in the forefront of everyday working lives, but felt only in certain moments or occasions. In addition, women's experiences vary depending on how they are positioned within the business school. However, it is not necessarily early career academics but established ones who are exposed to gender inequalities.
How does engagement in academic work concur with career progression in the English case? (GEA, The Gender and Education Association, June 2015)	While engagement in academic work and work-related activities accumulates into status and competence differences, not all competencies are acknowledged similarly. The main difference is between teaching/administration and refable research.
How have the conditions of academic work at State University Business School been shaped by the legislative changes? (UNIKE, July 2015)	While individuals engage in and are exposed to 'managerial practices', it is difficult to identify the overarching regimes because the consequences for individuals vary depending on how they are positioned within the business school. In addition, femininity is defined as an active stance instead of a rejected one.

Instead of using the entire dataset, the analysis drew on selected interviews that captured the central themes or tensions, such as early career academics versus established academics, or permanently employed versus temporary contracts. In the first stage, reflective of the origins of this research in the UNIKE project and its emphasis on management, the three first papers explored attempted to find a way to link managerial practices with gender and academic practices, as captured in Table 5.4. Similarly, the first paper focuses on gender inequalities and managerialism at both business schools, the second on the relationship between academic career, academic work, and managerialism, and the third on managerialism and gender at State University Business School

Table 5.5 The development of issues during explanation-building from an academic work perspective / career capital perspective	
Explored issue questions	**Findings in data**
How are the careers of academic women, working in the two business schools, constructed and maintained under the condition of current university governance aligning with the principles of new public management? (SHRE, Society for Research into Higher Education, December 2015)	Drawing on the notion of career capital, it is clear that academic work is exposed to managerialist and academic evaluations. Moreover, managerialist evaluations reflect what happens in the wider field (university governance). The consequences of managerial evaluations are felt differently, partly because of differences in accumulated career capitals (differences between established / early career academics / teaching and research).
What happens to academic work in the English context when it is exposed to market logic? (UNIKE, June 2016)	Academic work can be divided into community-feeding labour and accumulative work based on how it is acknowledged. In addition, it is academics themselves who might further these divisions through their own evaluations.
How does the local perception of gender further engage in / concur with the perceptions of academic work? (GWO, Gender, work & organisation, July 2016)	The main difference between the Finnish and English cases is how femininity is described. In the Finnish case, femininity is described as an active stance. In the English case, gender is captured in incidents reflecting femininity as a rejected stance. The ways in which gender is discussed seem to be related to the position one has within the business school or in life (academic hierarchies / career stage / life stage).
Testing out the current formulations of career capital. (CHER, the Consortium for Higher Education Research, August 2016)	Academic career field does not align with the logic of economic profit, as engagement in income generating activities does not accumulate into career capital.

Based on the three papers listed in Table 5.4, it is evident that managerialism shapes how academic work is valued. However, exposure to new managerialism as such does not explain how this process occurs. In other words, I was unable to identify the conceptual link between exposure to new managerialism and career outcomes. Moreover, as there were indications that a decisions taken elsewhere might result in gender inequalities in other contexts (June

2015), it was evident that there was a need for a conceptual framework that allows for addressing how organisational context is linked to the wider field or shaped by such decisions.

To address the problem of how to capture the missing conceptual links, I placed academic work and career capital as the starting point for the second phase. The rationale for placing academic work as a starting point was that it was the common denominator between the two cases. Thus, I built on the existing conceptualisations of career capital as emergent from engagement in academic work (Iellatchitch et al., 2003). However, there were questions regarding career context and agency and how to conceptualise these two. During my initial testing, I drew on the Bourdieusian conceptualisation of career field as a semi-autonomous context (Iellatchitch et al., 2003). However, as I used academic practice as a starting point, academic work could be seen to be placed in the intersection of the two fields of managerial and academic practices (SHRE, 2015), which then resulted in differences among academics based on how well they managed the rules of the academic and managerial fields.

While the application of career capital addressed certain issues, such as explaining how the differences between academic women emerge, based on the literature review conducted for my upgrade to a PhD student (RDB3) in early 2016, it became evident that framing university governance as intersecting with the semi-autonomous career context has its caveats. First, the differences in how university governance is organised and practised in Finland and England were such that this could be a research subject on its own. However, the more pressing issue was the conceptual division between the managerial and academic fields, because describing the career context in dichotomous terms would not have acknowledged how academics themselves engage and reject certain stances. As the division between

Table 5.6 Literature and statistical reviews to support the explanation testing	
How have the conditions of academic work changed in Finland and England since the 1970s? (RDB3, March 2016)	Drawing on notions of academic practices and practices related to academic work, it is clear that although both contexts are exposed to new managerialism / new public management, the differences between the two cases are such that they could be a case of point on its own.
How have gender relations changed since the 1980s? See Appendix 6 for England 1982-83, 1996-1997, 2006-2007, 2016-2017. Finland 1988, 1997, 2007, and 2017 (March – April 2016)	While the number of women in different ranks has increased, one of the consequences is increasing diversity among academic women as the number of women in higher ranks decreases. That said, in the Finnish case, it is the professorial level that is clearly lagging behind, as the proportion of women in other positions is almost equal to men.

academic work and labour is furthered by academics themselves (UNIKE, 2016), the academic career field could be seen to reject the economic logic (CHER, 2016). Thus, there was a need for a conceptualisation of career field that allowed me to address the interplay between it and individual action.

At the same time, there was the question of gender. On the one hand, there were indications that gender-related inequalities emerged from decisions taken outside the immediate working environment (GEA, 2015). On the other hand, based on a paper presented in the UNIKE workshop in 2015, it was clear that femininity in the Finnish context was prescribed as an active stance rather than a rejected one. After having explored the statistics of women in academia from the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, in Finland and England, the observable difference between how women progressed in academia made me reconsider the conceptualisation of gender. Based on a paper presented at GWO 2016, I concluded that there are differences in how femininity is described, which might shape engagement in academic work. That said, there are also career stages and life circumstances that create differences between academic women. Thus, instead of understanding femininity and masculinity as mutually exclusive hierarchically organised categories (Le Feuvre, 2009),

there was a need for a conceptualisation of gender that not only addressed the differences between the cases, but also between academic women. Therefore, I began to work towards an exploratory approach in which the attention is on how gender becomes consequential in the context of other ongoing practices.

As illustrated in Figure 5.1, I returned to existing theories and models after explanation testing in autumn 2016. Based on two rounds of explanation testing, it was clear that the academic career field should be conceptualised as one continuum that extends across and beyond the business school; whereas, there was a need for theoretical underpinnings that enabled me to address how gender practices become consequential in certain contexts. Therefore, when returning to the existing literature, it became evident that practice-based studies provide the theoretical underpinnings for further analysis. Thus, before taking the following step to focused coding, I drew on the tenets of practice-based studies to put forward the initial ideas for a conceptual framework that allowed me to address how the career of academic women emerge and are sustained in two career contexts. However, before I finalised the conceptual framework, I coded the interviews to unravel the underpinning tensions and patterns concerning academic career fields, career capital, and gender practices.

5.3.2 Focused coding

For the focused coding, I used qualitative data analysis software Nvivo 10, as it enabled me to store interviews, documents, and ideas in an easily retrievable form (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). While Nvivo 10 provides tools for data organisation, it does not provide the logic of data analysis. There are dangers associated with auto-coding regarding the text search and ritualistic over coding. While the former issue furthers superficial engagement with data, the latter means that, ‘the act of coding becomes an end in itself’ (Richards, 2002: 269). In the

Table 5.7 Summary of the coding framework		
Name of code	**Description of code**	**Examples of coded sections**
	In-vivo	Section-by-section coding with annotations Engagement in / positioning in relation to academic work
Research	All research-related activities	Publishing, evaluations, rankings Writing, co-writing (research colleagues) Learning to do research, data collection, analysis Selling research, project research, academic research Evaluations related to research activities
Teaching	All teaching-related activities	Preparation, delivery (lectures, seminars), marking Pastoral care, tutoring, teaching-related administration Recruitment of students, open days, Student feedback
Administration	All administration or service-related activities	Service, academic administrative leadership positions, committee work, committees, organisation of academic work Reporting, surveying Research administration, teaching administration Peer reviewing
Interviewees' careers	Case code All references to careers and career-making	Entry to academia (when and how) Career moves, career progression to the current position Individuals who were and are relevant for career progression Struggles / incidents that are relevant to career progression
Implicit gendering	All references to gender in which references to femininity/masculinity/ women/men intertwine with other practices	Consequences of care or motherhood Masculine attitudes: research versus teaching Agency: individualist versus cooperative
Explicit gendering	All direct references to women/men Femininity/ masculinity	What men do, what women do Descriptions of feminine and masculine characteristics Gender stereotypes (rejection / confirmation)

initial stage, I fell into the trap of ritualistic over coding, as I coded almost everything in small segments. These segments cluttered my data instead of organising it. Thus, I already had a few attempts during the explanation-building stage before I decided upon the coding

framework summarised in Table 5.7.

As Table 5.7 indicates, I used a combination of in-vivo codes, theoretical codes, and case codes. The rationale for combining different coding approaches emerged from the need to map out the particularities within and between the cases. As the initial analysis based on explanation-building pointed out, engagement in academic work resulted in competence and status differences that did not necessarily draw solely on academic considerations but are shaped by managerial expectations. At the same time, it was clear that gender practices interwove with, and become meaningful, in the context of other ongoing practices. Thus, there was a need for a coding approach that enabled the unravelling of highly intertwined career contexts. To achieve this, I combined in-vivo coding with theory-based codes and case codes.

In Nvivo 10, in-vivo codes result in codes that use the coded text nodes. Regarding this research, in-vivo coding was used to explore what is happening in the interview data and to examine the 'assumptions, actions, and imperatives that frame action' (Charmaz, 2006: 55). While in-vivo directs attention towards the interviewees' perceptions, the problem with this approach is that they might not express precisely what the researcher has learned from the coded section (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). To address this issue, I added annotations to reflect on what takes place in the data as shown in Tables 5.8 and 5.9. The annotations developed rather quickly into two clusters of 'engagement with/in' and 'positioning in relation' to academic work. The first cluster referred to the actual engagement in academic practices; whereas, positioning in relation to academic practice marks the section in which the interviewee describes the conditions of academic work or what happens in academia. As Charmaz (2006) notes, using gerunds in coding directs away from a statistic description of nouns and themes and towards actions. Therefore, the clustering of in-vivo codes into

positioning and engaging enables the mapping out of how academic activities are talked about and engaged in. In addition to academic work, I commented whether there were any references to gender, to previous workplaces, or third-person experience. In addition, I noted whether the coded section could be considered to have a reference to career capital: economic, social, or cultural. To keep my approach exploratory, I wrote observations concerning academic sociality, social networks, and the marketisation of academic activities (see the examples in Table 5.8).

Although in-vivo coding allowed me to map out the interviewees' perceptions of the local career context, I drew also on the theoretical codes of teaching, research, and administration. While some maintain that the use of theoretical codes is against the principles of grounded theory (Holton, 2008; Glaser, 2001), the rationale for using academic activities as a coding framework allowed me to distinguish the differences between the two cases regarding how academic work is conducted and organised. My analysis was based on the main categories of teaching, research, and administration/service, as summarised in Table 5.7. Examples of coded sections are in Tables 5.8 and 5.9. Over the course of coding, I again wrote annotations about my observations concerning how academic activities compared with each other. By doing so, I was able to map out the differences between seemingly similar activities, such as research or teaching. For example, an example of teaching, in Table 5.9, points out that while there is an association between pastoral care and teaching in the English case, there are no similar examples in the Finnish case. Therefore, the combination of codes and annotations provided the basis for further analysis, as they captured the general trends and differences between the two cases.

Table 5.8 Coding interviews from State University Business School			
Section coded (in-vivo)	**The comments in the annotations**	**Academic practices**	**Gender**
Of course, this is a competitive community, they always want more papers or something. Or it is the research side of it, I would not say that there is any competition on the teaching side. It is not like in our subject group that you would try to prevent others from getting papers. It's more like supporting each other and being happy if someone [gets] and congratulate if someone gets [a paper] (ST, March 2015)	Positioning in relation to academic practice. Description of a competitive working community. Note: the reference to research outputs rather than teaching. (The influence of funding formula?) NOTE: not negative consequences of competitions. Instead, emphasis on support (academic sociality).	Research – publishing (achievement) Teaching – different to research Administration-organisation such as subject groups	-
It doesn't feel like there are any old boys' networks. Perhaps people still have some inherited old ideas about men being better suited for leadership, but in my limited experience, the little I know about my own small sector in which I operate, women do not have any barriers. They just paddle forward. (YJ, March 2015)	Direct reference to gender differences – note the framing of old inherited, and the mending work, pointing out how women in her sector are doing fine. This is in contrast to the English case, in which the division between feminine/masculine is left open.	Administration – networks and old gendered understandings of leadership (not present)	Implicit gendering (masculine support networks, the perceptions of leadership.) Explicit gendering (active femininity)

Table 5.8 Coding interviews from State University Business School (continues)			
Section coded (in-vivo)	**The comments in the annotations**	**Academic practices**	**Gender**
In this new model, the dean is quite powerful, s/he can make decisions in diverse matters. But then it's clear that there are strong department heads as well, which have long traditions and have a big role [in] influencing decision-making in what direction is taken. Of course, some of them have scientific merits as well, which is relevant, as it is not enough that they have been leaders for a long time (VI, April 2015)	Positioning in relation to administration. A description about the current organisation and references to power relations between subject groups. Note the emphasis on academic merits and how being a leader does not qualify.	Administration – the current organisation / individualised decision-making structures Administration Departments (traditionally strong) Administration – the leadership/scientific merits division (the latter is relevant)	-
And then, the research projects need to be developed and sold. So, you must read Tekes or Finnish Academy programmes and call texts – what kind of research they are looking for. And think about it, try to develop, and think whether this concerns our research group and whether we can develop an innovative research project and with whom. (IM, March 2015)	Engagement with research. The description of the context of research, ensuring funding for projects. Note the term selling – marketisation of research? Reference to social networks.	Research – the marketisation of research (social networks). Administration – research management / finding and identifying relevant programmes and calls.	-

Table 5.9 Coding interviews from University College Business School			
Section coded	**Annotation**	**Academic practice**	**Gender**
Academia is being individualised and made much more competitive, I would say, thinking of masculine values. But I would say always happens some differing anyway, but I'd say that keeping more so. Because you don't get any mark, said for cooperation or helping people really that doesn't. But here they have tried to make that. They are aware of that and they have tried to make criteria, for example, in our professorial banding, professors if we want to get promoted, we have to be rated not just on our research, but on our leadership, but also on the kinds of service side to the university. (UQ, December 2014)	Positioning in relation to administration promotion. Note the context: collective control over promotions. The contradiction between individualism and cooperation, the former associated with masculinity NOTE: a certain type of masculinity – and the organisational responses to it. (Reproduction of professoriate / cultural capital)	Administration - promotions (institutional response changing criteria) Research - connection to promotion Administration - leadership/ service connection to promotion	Implicit gendering - competitive masculine values (diversification achieved indirectly through competition)
I've got both sides in my. I've got my feminine side and I've got my masculine side. And I can get do things that are gender specific, but then it's very much a spectrum. And there's some women who are very masculine and also marred with leadership. And there are women who are typical women, you could say, but actually you've got soft men as well. Or typically a characteristic that has been associated with being a woman. (JE, November 2014)	The reference to problems with gender stereotypes. Note: individuals positioned within a gender spectrum (dichotomous undertone?) regardless of their body. (Are there similar references in the Finnish case? Note: gender is still left open, not covered or mended up – and the reference is more to characteristics than agency.)	-	Explicit gendering constructed gender/ the underpinning difference between feminine and masculine

Table 5.9 Coding interviews from University College Business School (continues)			
Section coded	**Annotation**	**Academic practice**	**Gender**
I have submitted a paper last week to co-authors, and then it's been revised in Skype, we discuss which to revise and what everybody is done, write, analyses, exchange parts and the other person is going over it and writing up, writing up, writing up. And to go over it, change the references and then send it out. And there's another research project that starts now. So it's already very developed but I haven't looked at for a few months. And at the end of January, when I have this discussion so I think I need to move to work, so in January so we can really focus on that. LG, December 2014	Engagement with research practice. Note: references to networks and colleagues elsewhere. (Social networks?) Multiple projects – but no reference to funding? (This is in contrast with the Finnish case, in which there are references to funding/selling research.)	Research – co-writing, analysing, referencing Research – future projects, (picking up old projects) (temporality in research activities)	-
And one of my previous roles, I was senior tutor so I got all the students who had the most intractable or chronic problems and try to support them through learning journeys. So, if a lecturer was not providing necessary support, I have to negotiate with that lecturer to say look really, it's going to end the journey for the student. If the student had depression and had loads assignments due, I would try to help them. Think about how to manage those manage those deadlines, and then tell the lectures that these things are going to be late. (DH, December 2014)	Engagement with teaching – an example of pastoral care in a previous role. The focus on problems: solving and providing support. NOTE: the type of problems with students – more personal than study related. There is no similar role (or references to similar engagement!) in the Finnish context.	Teaching – tutoring role (pastoral care) Administration – teaching-related administrative role, negotiating with colleagues Administration – teaching-related administrative role mediated student / lecture relationships	-

The case codes focusing on the interviewees' careers are used to map out the general features of academic careers. As Table 5.7 summarises, the case codes include all references to the interviewees' career progression. Using this approach, I aimed to understand how the careers had emerged so far to identify any overarching patterns across the cases. In addition to the interviews, I coded the promotion frameworks from University College in a similar manner. As the implementation of a tenure track system at State University Business School was in its early stages, I coded the universities' salary system's (USS) job requirement levels, as well as a four-stage research career structure. While academic careers in the Finnish context are not necessarily characterised by upward movement from one stage to another, the USS requirement levels indicate how progress in academic careers are assumed to concur with increasing responsibilities and skills.

When focusing on gender, I began with Martin's (2006) concept pair of 'gendering practices' and 'practicing gender'. The rationale for drawing on Martin's (2006) framework emerged during the explanation testing, when it became clear that there are differences regarding how femininity is prescribed in the interviews. Thus, as I point out above, I took an exploratory stance towards gender and attempted to capture how it becomes consequential in the context of other ongoing practices. However, as this study does not draw on observations, the concept of 'practicing gender', which refers to instances in which gender is performed in action (Martin, 2003), proved an improper framework to address the interview data. Instead, building on the 'practicing gender' and 'gendering practice' pair, I divided the gender practices into two categories, in which gender was either implicitly or explicitly performed. Implicit gendering draws attention to how femininity and masculinity intertwine with other ongoing practices; whereas, explicit gendering refers to those moments in which the interviewer refers directly to femininity and masculinity, women and men. Implicit and explicit gendering enables not only the mapping out of the locally shared practical

understanding of femininity and masculinity by illustrating the diverse ways in which gender is practised, but also directs attention to how gender is understood to intertwine with other practices, as the examples in Tables 5.8 and 5.9 show.

5.3.3 Identifying conceptual definitions and relations through iterative writing

The previous section discussed how data analysis progressed through focused coding in accordance with grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). In the context of this research, the role of focused coding was to deconstruct the data and to unravel the underpinning tensions and patterns. The finalisation of the data analysis and determining the final focus occurred through iterative writing. While grounded theory promotes memo writing as method to work towards theory development, and memos often provide a starting point for the final writing (Charmaz, 2006), iterative writing uses the final format as a basis for data organisation and can be divided into storyline and scene writing, as described below. In the context of this research, the PhD thesis format provided an outline for the storyline. By this, I refer to the chapter by chapter structure that provides the framework for how the three dimensions are addressed in the research analysis. The sub-sections are framed as scenes in which the conceptual definitions and links are scrutinised.

Iterative writing can be divided into two sequences (storyline and scene writing) that draw on two traditions of academic writing. Storyline, as an analytical lens, relates to grounded theory (Birks and Mills, 2015; Birks et al., 2009; Strauss and Corbin, 1990); whereas, scene writing is found in ethnographic traditions (Goodall, 2008). The difference between these two forms of writing is that a storyline provides ‘a tool to facilitate and convey analytical processes’ (Birks and Mills; 2019: 244); whereas, scene writing refers to sequences of

clustered data within the storyline. This research uses scenes as blocks of writing to ask 'What is happening here?' and 'What (theoretical category or theory) are these data a study of?'(Glaser, 1978: 57). When brought together, storyline directs attention to theoretical constructs and their relationships (Birks at al., 2009), while scene writing provides the venue for identifying and demonstrating conceptual definitions.

In practical terms, after having finished the focused coding, I clustered the codes into a descriptive storyline, as summarised in Table 5.10. Before I settled upon the descriptive storyline, I had a few attempts in which I drew on vignette writing and shifted the scenes around the chapter outlines. Reflective of the underpinnings of career studies, which draw attention to both organisational and individual change (Arthur et al., 1989), there are two concurrent storylines: an organisational one and an individual one. In the context of this research, the organisational storyline provided the starting point for analysing the career context; whereas, the individual storyline directs attention to individual experience in this context. That said, it is relevant to point out that the individual storylines do not refer to personal choices or decisions but the underpinning tensions in the data that captured the main differences between the two cases.

As Table 5.10 reveals, the storyline of State University Business School can be summarised as 'the Faculty in transition'; whereas, the individual storyline is captured as 'accidental academics on precarious careers', and the gender story of 'the active female'. The storyline for University College Business School can be captured as a 'shift from liberal to marketised education'; the individual storyline is summarised as 'mobile academics on career ladders';

Table 5.10 The initial storyline mapping out the differences between the two cases	
State University Business School, the academic faculty in transition	**University College Business School, from liberal college to marketised higher education**
Continuities and discrepancies in organising academic work Organisational structures: layered and modular Professors assigned to administrative posts with committee memberships in subject groups and departments Elected committees based on tri-partism at the faculty and university levels Underpinnings for organisation Legal framework Autonomous subject groups/departments Strategy and budget Reporting and measuring outputs	**Collegial frame: negotiating the sociability in academic work and academic hierarchies** Organisation of academic work Academic administrative posts / leadership positions Committees and a school board within the business school Faculty/university-level committees – come together across disciplinary boundaries Underpinnings for organisation 'primus inter pares' Collegiality, consensus seeking, transparency within UCBS The tensions between central administration, the wider university sector, and the school
The accidental academics on precarious careers Just a work / project research path Slip into academia The lure of research: academic freedom / academic independence Careers: Finding one's place The academic sociality Rejecting the professorial path The early and mid-career struggles: the ability to continue (employment) CAREER CAPITALS ECONOMIC Income generation: funding for salaries The type of funding (academic/project) The percentage talk SOCIAL The precarious employment conditions Being known/trustworthy/reliable Supportive professors/line-managers Trust – 'she saw something in me' Colleagues/good working community CULTURAL – Education, culture, and cultivation The diversification of what is valued The role of knowledge producer in/for society versus international mobility & publishing	**Mobile academics on career ladders** Research degree entry versus teaching entry The lure of research versus the accidental academics Career progression (ascending): Teaching entry shift to research/permanency through PhD research Moves across roles and institutions Progression = increasing responsibilities The early and mid-career struggles: learning to balance / finding the right place (institution) CAREER CAPITALS ECONOMIC Income generation: public versus private gains Scholarships to research visits/data collection Teaching income SOCIAL I was known in the system. Achieving and managing a standing Networking (early career) Halo effect Colleagues/mentors CULTURAL- Education, culture, and cultivation The division of professionalism and academic work: REFable research versus teaching Racehorse potential
Sixth (& seventh) Chapter – emerging themes 11.07.2017/13.07.2017/18.07.2017, 8th Chapter Outline 11.09.2017	

Table 5.10 The initial storyline collecting, mapping out the differences between the two cases (continues)	
The Active Finnish Female; an academic, mother and trustworthy colleague	**Deciding between research and motherhood**
Gender neutrality is maintained through locating inappropriate gender practices of patriarchy and chauvinism to certain subject groups or individuals Balancing and correcting gender differences Women active and capable; gender becomes detrimental only in certain situations (accumulation/ruptures rather than a constant)	Generational differences from explicit to implicit exclusion The gendered division of academic work Male centredness based on a certain type of masculinity: competitive individualised masculinity versus cooperative femininity Anti-essentialism, gender is not tied to bodies (individual exhibiting femininity/masculinity) Institutional practices promoting women
Sixth (& seventh) Chapter – emerging themes 11.07.2017/13.07.2017/18.07.2017, 8th Chapter Outline 11.09.2017	

and the gender storyline concerns 'deciding between being research and motherhood'. In addition to the individual storylines, I clustered the data into economic, social, and cultural career capitals based on the notes written during focused coding. At this stage, I drew on general descriptions of economic, social, and cultural capitals as the starting point for more detailed analysis.

After the clustering data into a descriptive storyline, I moved to scene writing. In practical terms, as I note above, the starting point for scene writing is the question of 'What (theoretical category or theory) are these data a study of?' (Glaser, 1978: 57). Thus, the first stage of scene writing focused on identifying the specifying properties for my conceptual tools. As I progressed chapter by chapter, the first stage concerned the authorities organising academic work, after which I identified the specific properties for the career capitals, and finally shifted to gender to define how the locally shared practical understanding emerged from implicit and explicit gendering. To record the progress, I saved the versions according

to the date of writing. Thus, when I needed to map out how the conceptual definitions or links that emerged, I could return to how the ideas developed from the initial stage to the final version.

To keep the iterative writing close to the data, I combined writing with recoding and rereading my coding notes. By doing so, I tested whether the conceptual definitions hold when applied in data analysis. Based on rereading and testing, some of the issues, such as 'percentage talk', which refers to how salaries are constituted by diverse funding sources, proved less prevalent; whereas, other issues, such as the tensions between being employed and career progression at State University Business School, became more prevalent. To shift from the descriptive story line to conceptual storyline, I drew on the issue questions summarised in Table 5.11. Therefore, the descriptive storyline concerning the organisational career contexts began to concern the organisation of academic work.

As the writing progressed, the focus shifted from definitions to identifying the conceptual links between the different conceptual frameworks. When identifying conceptual links, I drew on what Nicolini (2009) calls 'trailing connections' and 'switching conceptual lenses'. Regarding trailing connections, I examined how practices become resources for other practices (Nicolini, 2009), or how the meanings or consequences of practices transform as the context changes (Rouse, 2007). I explored how academic work is used to obtain something, and how authorities interact with career capitals, as well as how career capitals interact with the conditions within the organisational career field. It was at this stage, when the central notion of career agency began to emerge as an underpinning phenomenon that brings the three dimensions together at conceptual level, as Table 5.11 illustrates. Again, I

Table 5.11 The shift from descriptive storyline to conceptual storyline		
Descriptive storyline	**The shift from description to conceptual storyline**	**Link to the explored phenomena**
Continuities and discrepancies in organising academic work Collegial frame: negotiating the sociability in academic work and academic hierarchies	How do authorities form relations that shape action and the capabilities to act within the business school across the university and the wider field?	Context of career agency
The accidental academics on precarious careers Mobile academics on career ladders	How does engagement in academic work accumulate in economic, social, and cultural career capital?	Conditions of career agency
The Active Finnish Female; an academic, mother, and trustworthy colleague Deciding between research and motherhood	How does the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwine with the engagement and organisation of academic work?	Intertwines with the context and conditions of career agency

combined the iterative writing with a rereading of the codes to ensure that the analysis remained close to the data. To support the shift away from a descriptive storyline to a conceptual one, I summarised the results of the analysis using notions such as ‘adventitious and positional career context’ and the ‘conversion of cultural career capital’ to capture the differences between organisational career contexts and how authorities intersect with career capitals.

Although there are approaches such as axial coding and coding paradigms (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss and Corbin, 1990) that provide analytical tools to identify conceptual links, I maintain that iterative writing provides tools not only for the identification of conceptual links, but also for concept development. However, iterative writing has a caveat. To keep the analysis close to the data, there is a need for constant testing through recoding and

rereading the data. Thus, iterative writing is a time-consuming approach. Moreover, it is difficult to identify the point at which to end iterative writing. Thus, there is a danger of both under- and over-analysis. Regarding this research, as I summarise in Figure 5.1, the iterative writing was followed by a final shift to existing research. At this stage, the focus was on locating the results of the iterative writing with the existing studies, and to explore whether the analysis is thorough enough to answer the research questions.

Having established the development of the initial research issues, how the data collection occurred, and the data analysis, I now discuss research ethics and the limitations of my research methodology. Drawing on the differences between procedural and micro-ethical moments (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004), Section 5.4 explores the question of research ethics in the context of PhD research. Then, Section 5.5 outlines the limitations of this research inquiry.

5.4 Research ethics: from procedural ethics to micro-ethical moments

Research ethics are often described in terms of protecting human subjects; that is, to obtain informed consent, to protect vulnerable groups and participants from any harm, and to ensure the privacy, confidentiality, and fair recruitment of participants (Yin, 2014). While research ethics, as was the case with this research, are often assessed prior to data collection (Hammersley, 2009), the issue is often more complicated in qualitative research based on human interaction than in approaches drawing on anonymised large-scale surveys and statistics (Swauger, 2011). To address the tensions between procedure and the day-to-day realities of conducting research, Guillemin and Gillam (2004) suggest a division between notions of ‘procedural ethics’ and ‘ethics in practice’. The notion of ‘procedural ethics’ refers to a process in which a research project is formally assessed prior to data collection to

identify the soundness of the ethical procedure (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). However, as 'ethics in practice' emerge from the day-to-day activities of conducting research, it can never be anticipated precisely when to apply for procedural ethics (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). Thus, drawing on the division between 'procedural ethics' and 'ethics in practice', this section discusses informed consent, the question of confidentiality and anonymity, and representation.

Drawing on the experiences of ethnography, Bell (2014) notes that although informed consent is often acquired during data collection, actual research often takes place when researchers return from the field and begin to write-up their results. This situation is applicable to this research. While written consent and permission to record were obtained prior to the interviews, the actual use of the interviews occurred long after the data collection had ended. Thus, the informed consent can be considered a process in this research that began from recruiting interviewees to the final analysis. When meeting with my interviewees, I began by introducing my research and talking through the research consent form and asked for permission to record the interview. All the interviewees agreed. When interviewing, I placed the recorder in a visible place. In one interview, I forgot to switch off the recorder after I had ended the interview. Although an interesting discussion followed, I did not transcribe it because I felt that I had no right to use unintentionally recorded material.

After I had finished my analysis, I sent the interviewees a file that included both direct and indirect quotes and a description of how I recorded their information in Appendix Five for approval. The lengthy analysis period meant that I also sent the transcript. In the Finnish case, I provided the Finnish transcription, but the quotes were in English. Although sending both the transcript and the quotes could be considered 'member checking' to validate the research analysis via the participants (Birt et al., 2016), the aim was to provide the

interviewees with the opportunity to review how they are quoted. Therefore, I did not send the entire analysis, but only the sections around the quotes. This approach was taken because the analysis included quotes from other interviews. Thus, sending the entire analysis prior to approval from other interviewees would have been problematic as I had yet to confirm that the selected quotes could be used in the thesis. While nobody disapproved of how I used their interviews, I was asked to recheck the terminology or used words, which I did. In one case, I was unable to contact the interviewee. Although she is included in the Appendix 5, all her quotes, both direct and indirect, have been removed from the thesis.

While sending over the interview quotes and transcripts can be considered to be reaffirming consent after a lengthy data analysis period, it also relates to questions of confidentiality and anonymity. Tolich (2004) points out how confidentiality can be divided into internal and external. External confidentiality refers to measures that prevent those who did not participate in my research from identifying the location and my interviewees; whereas, internal confidentiality aims to ensure that those participating in my research will not be identified by other participants working at the research site (Tolich, 2004). In practical terms, to ensure external confidentiality, I have not disclosed where my research was conducted; my initial supervisory team knew one of the locations. As I use documents collected form the business schools, recording them accurately in Appendix 3 would breach external confidentiality. Thus, the documents are described using only generic terms. In the empirical chapters, some details, such as the number of faculties or subject groups, that are not relevant to the argument are not portrayed exactly, and I have replaced some of the local terminology with more generic terms.

However, while I had considered how to secure external confidentiality, I had not realised that being physically at the business schools for interviews created situations that

compromised internal anonymity. Although, on a few occasions, the interviews were conducted in public places, such as cafeterias and public buildings' corridors, and one interview was conducted via Skype, they were mainly conducted in the interviewees' offices. When I walked down the corridors with interviewees or greeted someone politely or stood in someone's office, this was a possible breach of internal confidentiality because it could indicate who participated in this research. Therefore, I took extra care to ensure internal confidentiality when selecting quotes. To minimise the risk of being identified from quotes, I focused on sections that captured general attitudes or highlighted underlying tensions, and omitted disciplinary affiliations, years of employment, family circumstances, and other characteristics that would be too specific. The issue of anonymity was considered also when listing the interviewees in Appendix 5. Rather than setting out all the information, I list only titles and type of employment, and the length of employment is indicated in five-year sections. Finally, to point out the differences between the two cases, I mention the number of interviewees with children, but I do not specify which of the interviewees have children.

However, while confidentiality is related to identification, there is also the question of representation. That is, how to provide a sufficiently accurate representation of the careers of academic women while not revealing too much about my research sites and considering the need for external and internal anonymity. For example, as I noted above, I have changed certain terminology in the empirical chapters, and omitted certain sections from quotes. However, another dimension is representation, meaning how I draw on the individual experience in my empirical chapters; in other words, how to represent my interviewees. As I point out in Section 4.4, one of the dangers of drawing on the notion of career capital is the reproduction of the 'heroic ideal model'. Moreover, there is the danger also of 'misery stories', in which the emphasis is on loss and disadvantage.

Rather than putting forward ‘heroic ideal models’ or ‘misery stories’ for the underpinnings of practice-based based studies that prioritise practice as unit of analysis, I focus on the context and conditions of agency, rather than individual agency. Thus, my formulation of practice-based studies in conjunction with the case-study method results in an approach that departs from the line of work that draws on the narrative approach (Cohen et al., 2004) and communicates research results in the form of a career narrative (Duberley et al., 2006a). Hence, the empirical chapters focus on mapping the context and conditions of career agency at State University Business School and University College Business School. This approach subsequently shapes how the interviewees are represented. Instead of bringing the individual academics and their careers to the forefront, the focus is on the context and conditions of career agency. This approach can be seen to further internal anonymity, as the empirical discussion does not draw on individual career stories. Thus, while the selected quotes refer to individual experiences, they capture general patterns or tensions that characterise the context and conditions of career agency.

5.5 The limitations: the question of generalisability, interviewee sampling, and translation

In the previous sections, I describe the processes of data collection and data analysis and discuss the ethical considerations related to my research. To further my discussion, I turn my attention to the limitations of my methodological framework. As this research draws on qualitative methods, there is the question of generalisability. That is, how findings from a study sample can be generalised to a wider population. The underpinning assumption is that ‘what is the case in one place or time, will be so elsewhere or in another time’ (Payne and Williams, 2005: 296). In this line of thought, generalisability concerns producing knowledge that is not confined to a particular research inquiry but that can be transferred and applied to

other contexts.

The constructive character of qualitative methods that emphasise human encounters in data collection, thick description, and the richness of collected data (Payne and Williams, 2005; Lincoln and Guba, 2000) means that generalisability in the context of qualitative research cannot rely on the notions of validity, reliability, and objectivity. Thus, it might not even be desirable to make generalisable claims about qualitative data (Kacen and Chaitlin, 2006). Instead, I maintain that this research does not aim for context-independent, long-lasting knowledge claims, but for 'testable propositions' that can be 'confirmed or refuted through further evidence' (Payne and Williams, 2005: 297). Thus, as the empirical findings cannot support long-lasting knowledge claims, it is the underpinning conceptual framework that provides propositions that can be explored further in other contexts.

While it is clear that there are limitations in terms of generalisability, there is another layer of limitations that emerges from how the selected methods are operationalised in research inquiry. In the case of this research, two limitations can be identified. The first limitation is the sampling of interviewees, and the second point concerns the question of translation and working in two languages. Although interviews as a method enable scrutiny of what occurred prior to the data collection (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Rubin and Rubin, 2004), the question of sampling is a crucial factor because it defines the type of data the researcher has access to. As the initial foci for this research was to explore how gender and managerialism result in social hierarchies, and how these hierarchies shape the careers of academic women, I framed the career stages as the logic for variation, as I point out in Section 5.1. Thus, less attention was paid to the organisational roles women occupy within the business schools. It became evident during the data analysis that there were no first-person accounts about research leadership at University College Business School.

Considering that qualitative data are valued based on their thick description and richness (Payne and Williams, 2005; Lincoln and Guba, 2000), I was unable to map out the research aspect as I could the teaching aspect, because I had to rely on documents. Thus, I have left this area untouched in my empirical discussion.

Another issue is the influence of translation on data analysis. The interview protocol was developed first in English, then translated into Finnish. While the decision not to use specific terms in the interview protocol allowed me to capture and identify the local terms, this decision did not necessarily further the comparability between my two cases. The fourth section, which focuses on the management of business schools, proved problematic. The term 'management' can be translated into *hallinto*, *johto* or *johtaminen,* which have diverse meanings when translated back to English: *hallinto* can refer to government; *johto* can be understood as administration or management; and *johtaminen* as leading or management. Similarly, the term 'manager' can be translated as *esimies*, *johtaja* or *päällikkö*. When translating these three terms back to English, *esimies* can be understood as a line-manager or a leader; *johtaja* can be translated as a leader, a director, or an executive; while *päällikkö* refers to a chief, a boss, or a head. Since the meanings change when terms are translated from one language to another, there emerges the question of whether the terms are comparable.

However, while the examples of how words translated in multiple ways could suggest that the issue of translation is tied to meanings, there is also the question of working in two languages. For this research, the Finnish case was analysed using the Finnish transcripts, and the selected quotes were translated only during the iterative writing. One of the solutions would have been using a translator at different stages, such as when developing the interview protocol and, later, when translating the quotes into English. That said, all the writing related

to analysis, such as coding memos, annotations to codes, storylines and chapter outlines, and scenes, was in English, even when referring to the Finnish case. Thus, there is no single fixed point when translation occurred, but the shifts between two languages were embedded in the research inquiry. There is no way to capture how researching in two languages might influence the data analysis and the comparability of the two cases.

5.6 Conclusion: applying a case-study method in academic career research

In this section, I discuss how this research draws on the case-study framework and the methods from grounded theory to address the careers of academic women in two business schools. Drawing on the framework of a holistic multiple case study framework (Yin, 2014), I initially framed the careers of academic women at State University Business School and University College Business School as cases to explore how managerialism and gender intersect in academia. However, as I point out in Section 5.1, the foci of my research started to shift even before the data collection began, and especially during the data collection. While this factor could be regarded as a failure in how the initial issues statements were set out, and how the research design was operationalised, the shifts and drifts reflect the underpinning inductive reasoning. As Tracy (2012) notes, the particularities of research settings and what the researcher is faced when collecting data can have a profound effect on inductive research.

While I initially assumed that I was going to be faced with highly managerial organisational settings, the situation at the research sites was more complicated. As the initial issue statements and assumed conceptual relations required rethinking, the first stage of data analysis, therefore, focused on identifying how to approach data analysis, and focused

coding deconstructed the data to unravel the underpinning tensions in both cases. Following the deconstruction of the data, it was iterative writing that reunited the fractured data, first in a descriptive storyline, and then in a conceptual storyline. It was this stage that brought the final clarity to this research and allowed me to link the different dimensions in data under the notion of career agency.

In Section 1.5, I note how my thesis has two parts. The first part provides the contextual and empirical backgrounds and illustrates the theoretical underpinnings and my methodology from my research inquiry, and the second part draws on my research inquiry. Therefore, the following three chapters discuss the empirical findings. To keep my discussion coherent, I begin with the organisation of academic work to map out the context of career agency. In Chapter 8, I describe the conditions of career agency before I finalise my data analysis by demonstrating how the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwines with the context and conditions of career agency.

CHAPTER SIX
THE ORGANISATION OF ACADEMIC WORK: MAPPING OUT THE CONTEXT OF CAREER AGENCY

In the previous chapter, I discussed the methodological underpinnings of my research. As I point out, the starting point for this research was to explore what kinds of social hierarchies the intersection of prevailing gender regimes and new managerial working conditions create in business schools and how the careers of academic women are shaped by these hierarchies. However, as I point out in the previous chapter, my focus shifts to the context and conditions of career agency during the course of the research inquiry. Therefore, this research explores how to conceptualise career agency in a research inquiry.

Based on my analysis, I advance the notions of adventitious and positional career-contexts to capture the main differences between the two business schools. The differences can be summarised in the following terms. In an adventitious career context, such as State University Business School, employment and career opportunities emerge in an ad hoc manner, and an organisational career context is more directly exposed to external expectations. In a positional career context, academics are hired to fill a specific role, and subsequent career-moves, both vertical and horizontal, occur within the respective career

trajectory. At the same time, a positional career context such as University College Business School has some agency in defining how to respond to external expectations. Based on my analysis, University College Business School is representative of a positional career context.

Building on these differences, the subsequent empirical analysis is divided into three chapters. In the first of these chapters (i.e., the present chapter), I apply the notion of authority to explore differences between State University Business School and University College Business School as an organisational career context, whereas my attention in Chapter 7 is on careers and career moves. In Chapter 8, I conclude my analysis by discussing how the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwine with the context and conditions of career agency. Thus, in this chapter, I set out to answer the following question: *How does the organisation of academic work define State University Business School and University College Business School as organisational career contexts?*

In this chapter, I rely on the notion of authority. As I summarise in Section 4.3.1, I understand authority to emerge from a set of practices that places academics in certain relations to each other and their activities, based on a certain legitimation. Thus, this chapter's analysis draws attention to the organisational career context by demonstrating how an intersecting field of authority places academics in certain relations to their work activities and their colleagues, while shifting with the decision-making powers within and beyond the business schools. Section 6.1 thus begins by mapping out organisational relations, whereas Section 6.1.1 focuses on bureaucratic authority; 6.1.2, on professorial authority; and 6.1.3, on managerial authority. In Section 6.2, I turn my attention to the organisational relations at University College Business School. In Section 6.2.1, I discuss collegiate authority; in Section 6.2.2, professional authority; and in Section 6.2.3, managerial authority. I conclude the chapter in Section 6.3.

6.1 State University Business School: A university faculty in transition

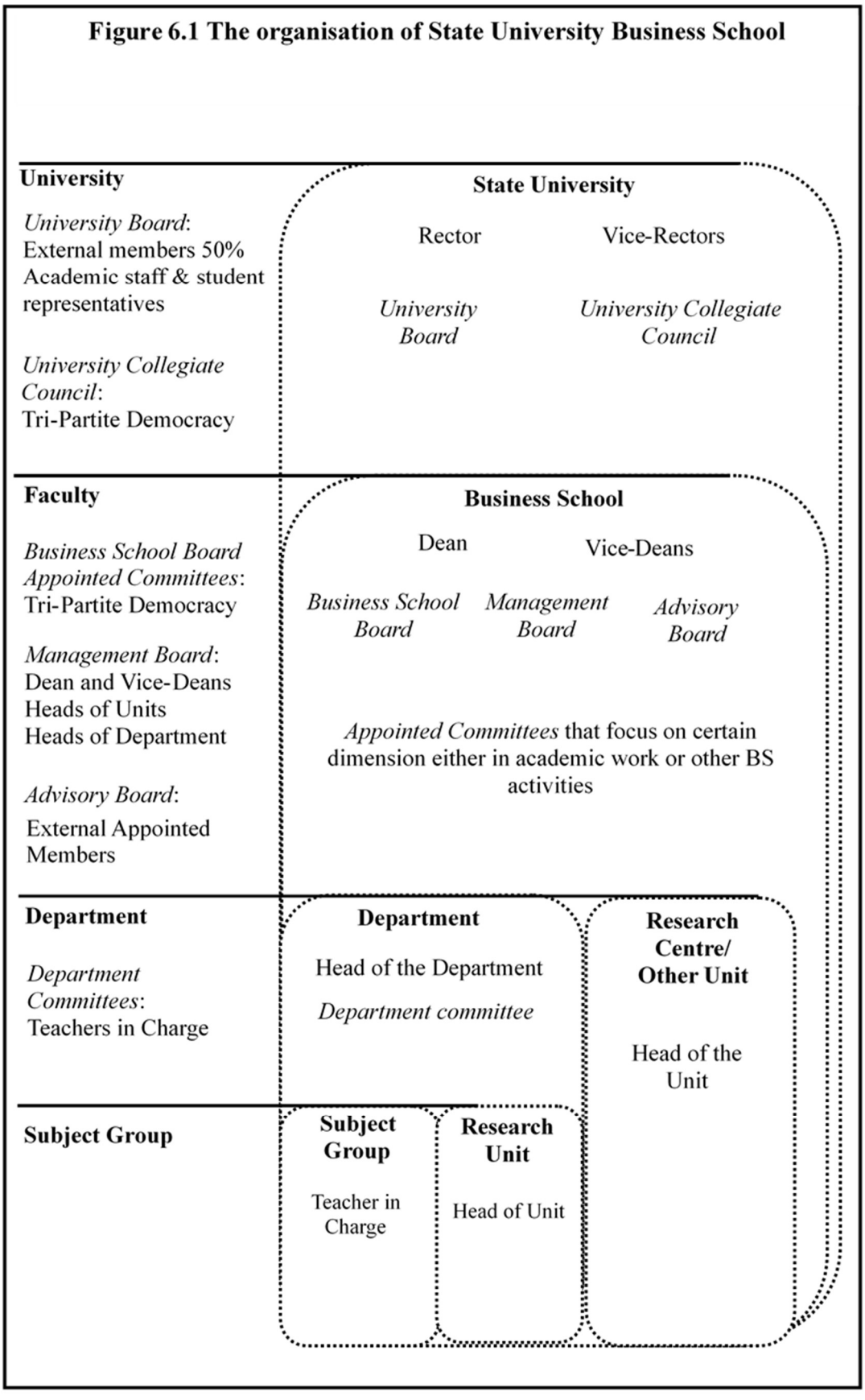
As I point out above, State University Business School, as an organisational career context, can be defined as an adventitious career context. Thus, the subsequent analysis indicates how State University Business School as an organisational career context is linked to and exposed to external expectations through academic work. The underpinning notion here is authority, as I point out above. Based on my analysis of the data, the organisation of academic work at State University Business School can be captured by three types of authority: bureaucratic, professorial, and managerial. As summarised in Table 6.1, bureaucratic authority is based on legitimation emerging from the legal framework that directs the administration of academic work. Professorial authority, on the other hand, results in relations of the actual organisation of academic work. While bureaucratic and professorial authorities can be seen to underpin organisational relations, managerial authority is the overarching layer that communicates what is currently valued in academic work.

One of the observations this research puts forward is how authorities can be seen to intertwine with the organisational structures. As I discuss in Section 2.3, the internal organisation in Finnish Universities has gone through major readjustments in 2010 as the Universities Act 2009 became effective. One of the major shifts was the abolishment of

Table 6.1 Authorities organising academic work at State University Business School

Type of authority	Relations	Constitutive practices and legitimation
Bureaucratic authority	Relations of administration	The annual working time system (AWT), the universities salary system (USS)
Professorial authority	Relations of organisation	The appointment of professors to administrative posts
Managerial authority	Relations of expectations	The universities funding formula, the research points system

Figure 6.1 The organisation of State University Business School



elected committees within departments (Tirronen, 2014). As the decision-making structure based on tri-partite democratic logic were perceived as slow and bureaucratic, the assumption was that the concentration of decision-making powers to certain positions would make space for strategic leadership practices (Tirronen, 2014; Aarrevaara, 2012). However, the shift from old to new has not necessarily been that clear-cut.

Reflective of professorial authority, subject groups and departments have assigned a head of department or the teacher in charge, as summarised in Figure 6.1. The term 'teacher in charge' appears slightly misleading, as the responsibilities of the person who holds this title extend from managing workloads to budgeting, holding line-managerial responsibilities, and recruiting project researchers and research assistants. However, the committees at the level of State University Business School still rely on a tri-partite logic:

> *There are different levels. We have the department level, we have the head of department and department committee, which includes all the teachers in charge from all the subject groups. Then there is the business school, which is constituted by these departments, it has a board, which is elected, and there are three groups: professors, other staff, and students, each of which has four representatives, and the business school has a head or dean. And those are the levels. Then we are obviously a part of State University, and certain things are done there. State University has its board, which includes our dean. (LP, March 2015)*

While the faculty and university level have continued to rely on committees based on a tri-partite logic, the subject groups and departments have shifted away from what de Boer and Stensaker (2007) refer to as representative democracy towards chair organisation, in which

the chair-holding professors are in charge of the organisation and administration of academic work (Clark, 1983). Moreover, as shown in Figure 6.1, administrative posts, such as teacher in charge or head of department, come with committee membership. This is not to say that professors alone are responsible for administration. There are references to development work that take place with groups or committees, and in some cases, the interviewees had administrative responsibilities as part of their day-to-day work. However, as there are no subject group and department committees, students and academic staff, who are not in professorial roles, are not necessarily involved with the decision-making at the department or subject group levels.

While professorial and bureaucratic authorities could be seen to place professors in positions of power, the subsequent analysis shows how being assigned to an administrative post with increased decision-making powers does not necessarily result in oppressive relations or increased agency. Instead, there has emerged an organisational career context in which decision-making regarding how academic work is organised are centralised to certain positions, while what is expected and how academic work is rewarded are decided and defined outside the business school, Hence, the following sections discuss how bureaucratic, professorial, and managerial authorities form the context of career agency at State University Business School.

6.1.1 Bureaucratic authority: Relations of administration

Considering bureaucratic authority sheds light on a set of practices and the consequences of those practices that refer to the legal framework for the administration of academic work. While bureaucratic authority might suggest a rigid procedural approach, the subsequent analysis focusing on the annual working time system (AWT) and the USS shows how

bureaucratic authority underpins the temporal flexibility that allows combining working with childcare, while at the same time a network of bureaucratic relations shifts agency beyond the business school.

The conditions of employment in forms of holidays, the AWT, and the USS are explicated in the General Collective Agreement (GCA). Reflective of the underpinning tripartite relationship, the representatives of employers and employees negotiate the GCA for period of two to three years, and in contrast to the situation in England, in Finland the GCA is legally binding. At the time of the interviews in early 2015, the AWT was based on a work year of 1,600 hours. Reflecting the previous system in which a civil servant position came with specific teaching duties, the GCA sets limits for teaching duties for professors and teaching-focused academics. The shift away from the former centrally managed higher education system discussed in Section 2.3 means, however, that the allocation of teaching hours is currently done within the subject groups:

> *Now the annual working time system is more flexible in terms of how many hours of teaching it includes. So first you record how many hours you are going to reserve for each activity, and 1,600 hours are distributed over the entire year. And you work based on that. You see what you are doing and when you are doing. But it is flexible in the sense that you can carry out it as you like. Of course, you have to do the lectures and contact teaching, but otherwise, it is quite flexible. (SY, March 2015)*

While the GCA defines the upper limits of daily and weekly work hours, the execution of the annual work time system is left to individual academics. While there are certain times at which academics are required to be in lecture halls, there is temporal flexibility in when

other activities are done. However, the consequences of temporal flexibility are complex. The temporal flexibility can turn into overworking:

> *You have always to follow it, a bit. You have to know what you have done and when, and when to take your holidays because nobody is going to follow you or tell you that you are doing too much or too little. If you can do everything within those 1600 hours, it does not matter when you work because they are not followed up, at least yet. (LK, April 2015)*

While there is a certain temporal flexibility in academic work as compared to other lines of work, there is the danger that academic work spirals official time to an all-encompassing occupation (Hakala, 2009). These concerns are warranted. The reported work years suggest that academics often work more than required the 1,600 hours per year (Vipunen, 2017). Despite this tendency to lead to overwork, one of the issues brought up in interviews was how temporal flexibility was seen as an attractive side of academic work because it allows combining working with childcare:

> *When I came here as a doctoral candidate, I told other mothers (my children were really small back then) that this is a great job. Back then it was like, if your child was ill, you could stay home taking care of her, or come a bit later or leave earlier, we just need to get the things done. When there is a heavy teaching period, then it is a bit scary, you cannot really not have anything extra. (ST, March 2015)*

The observation of universities being a family friendly environment is not necessarily a new one (Nikunen, 2012). In the case of State University Business School, it was not necessarily

State University that was described as family friendly. Instead, it was academic work that was described as a suitable line of work for women with young families. This understanding emerges from the notion of academic freedom which understood as temporal and spatial freedom to work whenever and wherever it is possible. Thus, while there is the danger of academic work turning into an all-encompassing occupation (Hakala, 2009), as pointed out above, academic work and academic research, in particular, appear favourable when compared with other lines of work that require presence during office hours. Still, this comparative desirability does not mean that academic work does not have its issues. The reference to heavy teaching periods being 'a bit scary', indicates that the temporal flexibility has its limits, as I discuss in more detail in Chapter 8.

However, while the AWT provides flexibility regarding how academics engage in academic work, the USS shows how relations emerging from bureaucratic authority shift decision-making powers beyond State University Business School. In the current salary system, USS draws on two components: job requirement and individual performance levels; these levels are summarised in Appendix 7. The USS means that every position is set to a particular demand level on a scale that ascends from 1 – 11; the underpinning rationale is that the responsibilities and demands placed on academic work increase in higher levels. The shifts in levels occur when a person starts on a new employment contract or is hired to a new position, as the following interviewee points out.

> *Every time [one] starts with a new title, the requirement levels are re-evaluated, and after six months there is an evaluation discussion in which the levels are either confirmed or the initial levels are changed. And after that, or this is my understanding, they should stay the same as long as you are in that position. Of course, we have appraisals in which the salary, in*

> *theory, could be raised or reduced. But I don't see, my levels are what they are, and I cannot see how my salary can be increased. I cannot justify it to the system, and I think I know what my levels should be (JN, March 2015)*

While the initial requirement levels are re-evaluated after six months, there is a possibility for the personal performance levels to be changed in appraisals that occur every two years. However, the interviewee's expression 'in theory' suggests that this rarely happens. Moreover, in contrast to the AWT, the final decisions related to the USS had to be approved by Centralised Administration:

> *The employee and the line-manager have an appraisal, and they suggest that what it [levels] should be. Then the unit's head also comments on it, then it goes to HR, so to the hill, and they compare [all the proposals] across all the faculties. If there are outliers, it might bounce back, it's not accepted, or a lower level is proposed. So, it is not like, if the business school, all the heads and the dean thinks that this is okay, so it is not necessarily approved. (IM, March 2015)*

In their research, Jauhiainen et al. (2015) refer to a culture of fabrication to capture the discrepancies between the official records and what is done in reality. While there are no similar references in my data, the case of USS indicates how bureaucratic authority shifts agency regarding how academic work is rewarded beyond the business school. In this context, the expression 'to the hill' not only refers to the physical distance between the Business School and the Central Administration, but also its perceived inability to capture the realities of academic work within the business school:

> *Well, it is a good idea, and the job requirement levels are quite well thought through, what belongs and where. When I worked as an assistant, my responsibilities were much higher in almost every category than what the description for assistant positions was. So, it felt a bit wrong. (VI, April 2015)*

In the interviewees' case, while she was hired to an assistant role that was previously reserved for postgraduate students, her responsibilities included kind of activities, from independent teaching to tutoring MA students. Thus, as the former assistant role is defined as an early-career position, interviewee's actual responsibilities did not correspond with the description of what is expected from an assistant. As the Central Administration draws on a scale that is applied across State University, being assigned in a role that does not concur with one's responsibilities creates a situation in which the USS does not acknowledge the actual contribution to the subject group.

While the case of USS might not seem relevant when discussing the context of career agency, it directs attention to how authorities shape action and the capabilities to act. While the USS might not shape how academics engage in academic work as such, there seemed to be tensions between the business school and the Central Administration as the latter is not necessarily able to capture what takes place in subject groups. Moreover, as the professors with line-management responsibilities are currently in charge of appraisals, the USS has brought a new dimension to line-managerial relations:

> *Previously you did not have to negotiate this kind of thing, and as a professor, or a line-manager, you didn't even have to think about these issues. The salary scale was what it was. You didn't need to talk about it.*

> *You didn't have to have a bad conscious if your staff wasn't getting the salaries you think they should. Professors have become line-managers in an entirely new way; it is not what it used to be. There are lots of responsibilities but not necessarily any power. (TE, March 2015)*

The interviewee refers to the former salary system in which each academic position was tied to a certain salary grade; consequently, there were no room to adjust salaries (Välimaa, 2001b). The USS changed the situation, as salaries could be raised, at least in theory. However, one of the points brought up in other interviews was how the final levels seemed to depend on the available financial resources. As the interviewee points out, there are new responsibilities but not necessarily new powers.

In summary, from the career agency perspective, bureaucratic authority can be seen to have two contradictory dimensions. On the one hand, bureaucratic authority sustains and supports academic freedom at an individual level. While the AWT requires presence at certain times, there is temporal and spatial flexibility in how and when to work. Thus, academic research appears favourable when compared with other lines of work. On the other hand, bureaucratic authority directs attention to how decision-making powers shift within State University. While the USS could be seen to reward good work as the final decisions are based on available funding and a scale applied across State University, the actual contribution to the subject group is not necessarily rewarded. In other words, while bureaucratic authority might underpin academic freedom, it also provides the legitimation for how decision-making powers shift within and beyond the business school.

6.1.2 Professorial authority: Relations of organisation

As pointed out in Section 6.1, the modular organisational structure is underpinned by professorial authority, as chair-holding professors assigned as teachers in charge are responsible for organising work in their subject groups. This organisational structure does not necessarily depart from what is traditionally expected of the professoriate. As elsewhere, professors in Finland have traditionally been authority figures within their respective disciplines (Välimaa, 2001b). Nevertheless, the power relations within the subject groups were not necessarily so straightforward. The committee structure based on a tri-partite logic ensured that all academic staff and students were involved with decision-making, and subsequently, the professorial authority could be seen to intertwine with democratic decision-making structures and consensus seeking (Räsänen, 2005). This arrangement contrasts the current the concentration of decision-making power in certain positions (Tirronen, 2014; Aarrevaara, 2012), as I point out in Section 6.1. However, my analysis points out that the streamlined organisational structures have not resulted in a dynamic leadership practice. Instead, there were indications of diversification amongst academics in how subject groups were organised and administered.

As Figure 6.1 shows, State University Business School is divided into faculties and subject groups, and the organisation of academic work is done independently within disciplinary departments and subject groups:

> *Business School is obviously managed as part of State University. Business School's strategy is done here at the school level, Dean and his small group of officers have presumably a big role in defining it, and the staff is given the opportunity to comment on it as it is often done in*

universities. So, there is a general strategy and budget, and what then happens in departments, it is quite independent. So, of course, they act within the budget, but the management does not dictate what takes place there. So, this is quite modular. (YJ, March 2015)

The quote captures how modular structure could be seen to reflect what Räsänen (2005) labels as the autonomic collegiate disciplinary logic. While a general strategy and a budget set a frame for action within State University Business School, 'what happens in Departments' is not dictated by the management, as the interviewee notes. Therefore, the current organisation of State University Business School in which the elected committees within departments have been abolished, professorial authority could be seen empowered in certain matters. That said, being empowered this does not necessarily translate into a perceived leadership:

The head of the school, or dean, who is [a leader] and the deputy-leaders or vice-deans, I do not know whether they have changed the titles, but these three are the ones that can be said to be leaders. Each department has a head, but I do not have any opinion about them except ours. This person is a leader, in a sense that they have been appointed to that position and are responsible for the department and its finances, and what is done here, so in that sense, yes. But if you think a person, what kind of person a leader is, I associate that with the leaders at the school level rather than the department level leaders. (LK, April 2015)

When asked about who the leaders at the business school were, the interviewees often referred to the faculty level and to the dean, as the quote above shows. Moreover, the

interviewee's response indicates that the positions at the departmental level can described more in terms of administrative responsibilities than as sites of active leadership. Similarly, another interviewee pointed out that there are no full-time leaders at State University Business School. In fact, some even questioned whether there was a need for active leadership:

> *Researchers don't really care about leaders; [we] just research and teach here. The leader does not have time to interfere with what everyone is doing, and they don't even know what everyone is doing. Everyone has a line-manager, it might be the head of unit, or the administrative manager, or the professor […] It is a bit of mess how this place is managed, this school. Everyone is doing their own thing, and quite a few are quite happy with it [because] we don't want any leaders here; it is totally unnecessary that researchers are somehow led. That is the idea in research, that everyone focuses quite independently on what they are interested in. (KO, March 2015)*

Thus, while subject groups might require administration to function as expected, there is no need for dynamic leadership practices to dictate how individuals execute and engage in academic activities. The disjuncture between administrative responsibilities and perceived leadership can be related to the understanding of academic work as an independent endeavour. While in the previous section, academic freedom was a framed as temporal and spatial flexibility to work whenever and wherever, the quote directs attention to self-determination, which is often described as one of the core tenets in academic freedom (Marginson, 2008). Thus, as the interviewee points out, leaders are 'unnecessary'.

However, while academics might not need leaders, subject groups and departments still requires organisation. As the current organisational relations centralise decision-making powers to certain roles, professorial authority can be seen to underpin line-managerial relations that set the framework for the organisation of academic work in subject groups. One of the observations this research presents is how the organisation of academic work might seem to further the diversification amongst academics. A practical example of this is how the AWT is administrated in subject groups:

> *In the end, it is the teacher in charge's responsibility to decide how things are done. Sometimes they ask what you want to do, and sometimes they don't. It can be quite a surprise that here is the plan and you look at it, and it is like 'okay, I have been given this kind of things'. They don't always think that it's necessary to ask. (LK, April 2015)*

The quote captures how the current streamlined organisational structures do not provide a venue for collective decision-making. While the AWT allows temporal and spatial flexibility, there are the teaching allocations that still require presence during certain hours. Thus, diversification amongst academic women could be seen to relate how the AWT is administrated in subject groups. In some cases, there were meetings in which teaching loads were discussed, while some subject groups had clearly defined roles that come with certain responsibilities. However, in the interviewee's case, there were no predefined processes for how teaching responsibilities were allocated, which could cause surprises. Along these lines, while the teacher in charge might not be perceived as a leader, it is a role that is responsible for deciding 'how things are done', as the interviewee notes.

To a certain extent, the diversity in line-management could be seen to link to how line-

managerial work is traditionally approached in universities:

> *Line-managers are currently given more responsibilities and power, but then it feels like one of the problems in universities tend to have is the weak managerial work. The line-managers do not necessarily have any training, which is required in the businesses, and they send them [to courses]. Everything is done on voluntary bases here, and then it's said that those who attend line-management training and mentor programs are the ones who are already interested in these issues and see them as an integral part of their work and are doing it already quite well. (NS, March 2015)*

To understand why line-management is not necessarily approached in universities in the same way that it is approached in business, it is relevant to keep in mind that line-management is a part of administrative workload. Existing studies point out how administration is traditionally understood as a rotating responsibility that comes with a higher administrative workload (Ranki, 2016; Aarrevaara and Pekkola, 2010). Therefore, while the current administrative roles come with greater responsibilities, these are not necessarily understood as roles on their own (Pekkola et al., 2018). To a certain, the notion of academic freedom might determine how line-management is approached. As the interviewee notes, everything is done on voluntary basis, which might underpin how line-managerial roles are approached.

From a career agency perspective, the case of State University Business School suggests that the internal reorganisation abolishing subject group and department committees has not necessarily taken into consideration how administrative roles have been traditionally approached. While professorial authority could be seen to underpin how relations of

organisation emerge in subject groups and departments, it does not necessarily translate into leadership relations or ones that are perceived as such. Instead, the streamlined organisational structures might unwittingly contribute to diversification amongst academics. As the former organisational structure based on committees has been replaced by streamlined line-managerial relations, it is the individuals who are placed in certain roles that set the framework for how academic work is organised in subject groups and communicate what is expected from academic work, as I discuss in more detail in Section 7.2.3. As I point out in the following section, how academic activities are evaluated tends to align with managerial authority.

6.1.3 Managerial authority: Relations of expectations

In my analysis, I understand managerial authority as emergent from a set of practices and consequences of those practices that aim to enhance certain dimensions within academic work and orient academic practices in such a way that they contribute to the success of State University Business School. The underpinnings for managerial authority can be related to how university governance is organised in Finland. As I point out in Chapter 2, the Finnish university governance aligns with the principles of Management by results (MBR), which emphasises the dissemination of strategy across the organisation and incorporation of strategy to individual performance measurements (Kallio and Kallio, 2014). To enhance the MBR, the current university funding formula emphasises outputs. Thus, activities such as international research visits, publications in certain journals, and the number of graduating undergraduate and postgraduate students are rewarded (Kallio et al., 2016). This reward system provides the underpinning legitimation for managerial authority.

In practical terms, managerial authority results in a framework for academic activities

defining what is valued in it. The underpinning legitimation for these evaluations emerges from two layers of funding practices: first, the research points system used in funding allocations between subject groups within State University Business School and, second, the university funding formula applied to the whole State University. At State University Business School, the research points system is an annual listing of research activities:

> *Research points are collected every year. They are put on a big table how many and what kind of research points each of us has produced. And then it is calculated how many points each group has, and then, I think, it is divided with the number of professors to see how much each group has produced in that sense, and then everything is ranked based on that (LK, April 2015)*

At the time of interviews, the research point system was based on the Publication Forum, a classification system that rates academic journals, book series, conferences, and book publishers from 1–3 based on their perceived impact on their discipline. Nevertheless, while Publication Forum emphasises international publishing, the research point system did not focus solely on publications:

> *You get points from publications and those. But you also get points when you are reviewing and writing referees. So, the point system takes into account that it is not like 'here I am producing something all the time', but it also acknowledges and values the work you do for your research community. (IM, March 2015)*

When compared with University College Business School, the research point system draws

on a wider understanding of scholarly work than the RAE/REF. Thus, there is some leeway as the emphasis is not solely on publishing. However, while the research points system is based in a broader understanding of scholarly work, it still legitimates how subject groups and departments are funded:

> *The available money, how it is divided between different departments and subject groups, the more points you have, the more you get money. But it also matters how many graduates and how many doctoral degrees a subject group manages to get and so on. (OR, March 2015)*

The quote directs attention how academics and subject groups occupy a dual position: first, in relation to the research points system, to ensure their subject group's success in internal funding allocations; and second, in relation to the university funding formula, to secure funding for the whole State University Business School. Thus, also graduates matter, but again the emphasis is on quantity, and what is relevant here is the association between academic activities and how it accounts in funding allocations. Unwittingly, this association shapes how academic work is perceived to be valuated:

> *Well, the only thing that interests the business school is the research points, which I produce—and perhaps, if I give an interview or a presentation, that I have the logo in the right place. But not really, I do believe that all work is valued, but it is annoying when you spend so much time on administration, and it is not appreciated in any way. It is only the research points that increasingly make a difference for instance in terms of funding or the bonuses our subject group gets. (JN, March 2015)*

The interviewee's comment captures crucial tensions in how managerial authority combines academic activities with financial rewards. As research points underpins how the subject groups are funded, other activities become secondary because they do not bring valuable income. Thus, while all dimensions of academic work are relevant for the subject group to function, only the research side of that work is perceived as valuable because of the monetary rewards attached to it. This valuation results in tensions in how an employable academic is defined:

> *It, in the end, it goes perhaps all the way to the funding model. It is calculated how many articles or research points are accrued and produced, and [based on this calculation] you then reflect on how money is divided. There is no measurement for teaching. That's why it is not valued. Now, it is changing a bit, at the university level; they have started to think, what it would be in the case of teaching? Because, both [teaching and research] are important, and a university is supposed to do both of them. But if only one of them is calculated and measured (how you are succeeding in it), then the other side is missing. It can be seen in recruitments when contemplating who is going to be selected. Usually, it is the research side that is emphasised, and it might be stated in some sub-clause, that has also taught something. (LK, April 2015)*

The emphasis on quantity creates a situation in which dimensions in academic work that cannot be measured are devalued. Similarly to administration, teaching did not have clearly defined metrics at the time of the interviews. Thus, while the relevance of teaching was acknowledged by the interviewees, and as the interviewee notes universities are expected to do both teaching and research, the general understanding was that only research mattered

when applying for a position.

In sum, managerial authority directs attention to how State University Business School, as an adventitious career context, is exposed to external expectations. As bureaucratic authority has already shifted rewarding powers beyond the business school, managerial authority furthers this power shift by providing a framework for how academic work is evaluated. From a career agency perspective, managerial authority gives a clear message about how academic careers are made. As pointed out above, the general understanding was that it was only the journal articles that are counted in recruitments. Thus, as I discuss in more detail in the following chapter, managerial authority can be seen to underpin how an employable academic is defined.

At the same time, State University Business School highlights how academic freedom still underpins how individuals approach academic work. While managerial authority communicates what is expected from academics and their work, bureaucratic and professorial authorities do not constitute relations in which individuals are told *how* to engage in academic work. As I have already highlighted, there is the temporal and spatial flexibility, as well as accommodation for self-determination. That said, the situation is not necessarily that ideal. While the following chapter directs attention to the precarity that characterises adventitious career contexts, Chapter 8 shows how temporal flexibility has its issues. Thus, while the organisation of academic work might provide certain advantages related to how women are able to combine work with childcare, these advantages do not result in a career context in which all issues are resolved.

6.2 University College Business School: A collegiate department at the intersection of contrasting expectations

As has been note, University College Business School can be described as a positional career context, in contrast to State University Business School. Moreover, my analysis suggests that University College Business School as an organisational career context has some agency in defining how to respond the external expectations placed on academics and their work. To understand how this agency emerges and is realised, I draw on the notion of authority. Based on my analysis, I have identified three authorities who organise academic work at University College Business School: collegiate authority, which structures the relations of collective administration; the professional authority, which is captured in relations of organisation; and the managerial authority, which constitutes relations of evaluations, as summarised in Table 6.2.

In practical terms, the organisation of academic work at University College draws on committees and academic administrative or leadership posts. As Figure 6.2 shows, the organisation through committees and academic leadership posts is repeated at University College and the faculty levels. However, while University College Business School is

Table 6.2 Authorities organising academic work at University College Business School

Type of authority	Relations	Constitutive practices
Collegiate authority	Relations of collective administration	Committees assigned responsible for a certain dimension of academic work
Professional authority	Relations of organisation	Administrative posts to ensure the organisation of academic work
Managerial authority	Relations of evaluations	Research and teaching audits and student feedback

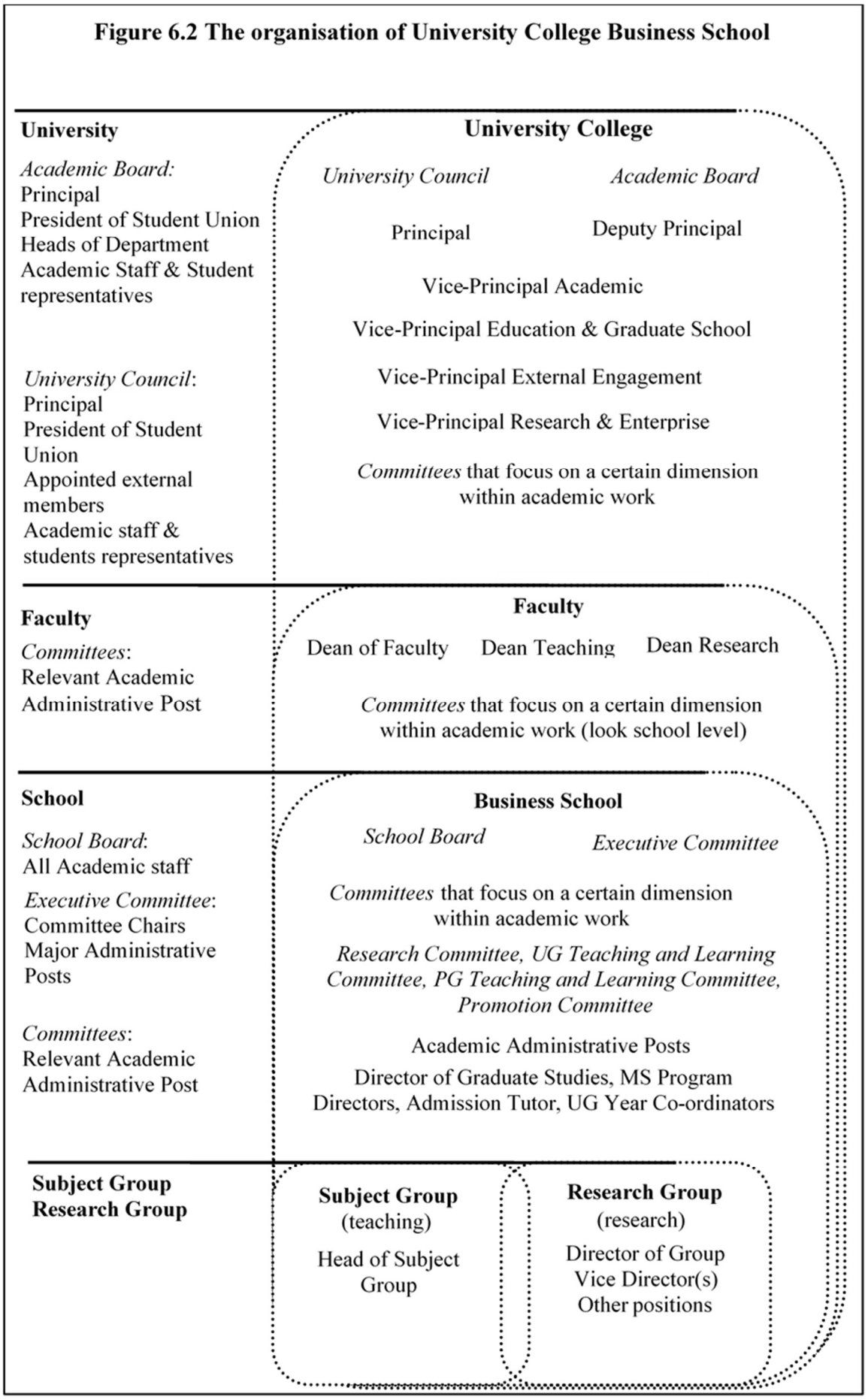
divided into subject groups based on disciplinary affiliations, the organisation of academic work revolves around certain dimensions within it:

> *At the faculty we have two departments, so the two departments would have similar committees. So, there'd be a Teaching and Learning committee in the business school, a Teaching and Learning committee in [the other department] and also at the university level. After the faculty level, you have the university level. At the university level, you have five university faculties. The five faculties will come together with individuals from relevant responsibilities meetings. That's the structure of universities. (QL, January 2015)*

The quote captures how the organisation of academic work at University College concurs with the department college structure, in which academics engage with the organisation of academic work (Pekkola et al., 2018). Moreover, the division of labour and allocation of responsibilities are based on functional responsibilities. Thus, while both departments, subject groups are organised along disciplinary lines, academic administrative posts and committees revolve around a certain dimension within academic work. Thus, the committees emerge around a particular topic or dimension within academic work, or as the interviewee notes faculties 'come together with individuals from relevant responsibilities'.

While committees constitute the collegial authority, the assigned administrative posts instigate professional authority. Thus, collegiate and professional authorities can be seen as mutually constitutive legitimisation for how academic activities are administrated and organised, and how decision-making powers shift within and beyond University College Business School. While collegiate authority places academics in relations of collective administration over academic activities, professional authority positions academics in

Figure 6.2 The organisation of University College Business School



relations of organisation within the subject groups and across University College. Thus, I start by discussion the relations of collective administration underpinning collegiate authority in Section 6.3.1, after which I turn my attention to professional authority in Section 6.3.2 and finally to managerial authority in Section 6.3.3.

6.2.1 Collegiate authority: Relations of collective administration

In my analysis, I understand collegiate authority as a set of practices and the consequences of those practices that assign the administration of academic work to a group of colleagues and place academics in relations of collective control over academic work. The legitimation for collegiate authority draws on an understanding of collegiality as 'a process where professional equals are making decisions and governing their own affairs through democratic procedures or through joint discussion leading to consensus' (Pekkola et al., 2018: 1953). One of the distinct features in collegiate authority is that it does not concur with representative democracy. Instead, collegial authority aims to ensure that decisions regarding academic activities are done among professional equals. In practical terms, this aim is achieved through committee work:

> *The change in the course, most things like that are done through committee, so invariably you have to write a paper. This will go to the teaching committee. The Teaching and Learning Committee will review it and support you, or not. You have to put in your rationale for the change. The Teaching Committee at a department level supports you and goes through the investigative process from the department to the faculty, from the faculty to the centre, to the registry. It's quite straightforward. (QL, January 2015)*

As I point out in Section 6.2, the disciplinary lines are not necessarily followed in the administration of academic work. Reflective of collegiate authority that places academics in relations of collective administration over academic activities, the suggested change is put forward to the relevant committee. Based on their professional consideration, the committee decides whether or not to support the suggested change. As pointed above, collegiate authority is not confined to the business school but extends across University College. As the decision approved at the business school is put forward to the respective faculty and university committees, collegiate authority legitimates how decision-making powers shift within University College. Thus, collegiate authority does not necessarily impart decision-making powers. Instead, a committees' ability to decide depends on its role and how it is located within University College.

In the case of University College Business School, there are the Executive Committee and the School Board. While the former engages with tactical and operational decisions, the later makes strategic decisions. Thus, other committees, such as the Teaching and Learning Committee, act as professional bodies in which decisions are prepared:

> *We actually don't make any decisions; the decision we take has to be ratified by the School Board for it to be accepted. So, it's allowing us to achieve collegiality so that everybody within the school knows what's happening. (QL, January 2015)*

One of the themes that emerges from the interviews is how the School Board is seen to further transparency and inclusion. In practical terms, the School Board includes all academics that have a position at the business school, and it meets once per a semester. As the School Board ratifies decisions either through voting or passing proposals, it keeps the

academics informed about the decisions that are to be taken and provides them the possibility to say 'no'. This process results in a definition of collegiality which associates it with transparency and inclusion, as the interviewee notes. Thus, as all major decisions are brought to the School Board for approval, collegiate authority can be seen to place academics in relations of collective administration at University College Business School.

Nevertheless, while collegiate authority within University College Business School is characterised by transparency and participation, decision-making at the faculty and university levels does not necessarily result in similar outcomes. This disconnect becomes particularly clear in promotions. At University College Business School, there is an annual promotion round in which academics are expected to submit their CVs:

> *In theory every year or a couple of years, people are expected to admit their CV and so forth; and the head of the department, to decide whether it's worth for putting forward for promotion and to send them to the University and then if they, the University, then determine that you should progress, you do. (PK, November 2014)*

As with changes in teaching, the initial screening is done at the Business School level. Reflective of collegiate authority, the faculty and university levels have their own promotion committees:

> *The system is that your immediate peers will assess. Then after your immediate peers, you go to the department, and then from the department committee it goes to the faculty committee; then from the faculty committee, it goes to the university level committee. So, it goes through a*

series of committees and, at any route, you can be stopped. (QL, January 2015)

The quote captures how collegiate authority underpins how decision-making powers shift away from the business school. As the decision moves to faculty and university levels, collegiate authority loses its transparency, as one interviewee pointed out:

The university will sometimes reject somebody the departments endorse for whatever reason. I don't know. You know this is not my area. But you know, so, it's different in different places and said, sometimes it can be a little hard to understand from the ground level why a decision is taken or not. (PK, November 2014)

The case of promotions highlights that while collegiate authority can further inclusion and transparency in one context, it does necessarily result in similar outcomes in other contexts. One of the issues brought up in the interviews was the past incidents in which women had taken action against University College. As I discuss in more detail in Section 8.2, University College has changed its promotion framework and provides currently programmes for women. However, the case of promotions highlights how collegiate authority does not aim for democratic representation but ensures that decisions regarding academic activities are made based on professional judgement. Thus, the question who is considered as 'an equal peer' becomes crucial because it defines who is included.

6.2.2 Professional authority: Relations of organisation

As I pointed out in Section 6.2, the assignment of academic administrative posts forms the practical basis for professional authority. In this context, it emerges from a set of practices

and consequences of those practices that assign individual academics responsible for certain dimensions of academic work as a part of their administrative workload. Professional authority and collegiate authority can therefore be considered as mutually constitutive relations. As noted above, collegiate authority aims to ensure that decisions regarding academic work are made among equal peers based on their professional judgement. Thus, professional authority is legitimated by the understanding that the organisation of work should be made by those who have acquired relevant professional skills.

From a career agency perspective, one of the underpinning assumptions is that as academics progress in their careers, they take over more demanding administrative roles. As one interviewee explained,

> *As a senior lecturer, the expectation is that you do take more administration responsibility. The professors also take more responsibility, but in other ways. Often the running of the programme is left at this level, senior lecturer level.*
>
> ***R So, what do professors do, then?***
>
> *Oh, they do... We have some professors who are in charge of subject groups, so they're head of subject groups. You have professors who are in charge of budgeting. You have a professor who is in charge of the PhD group. You have a professor who is in charge of research management. Also, there are different activities. Of course, there are more, of course, there is a professor who is the head of school and a deputy head of school. Then there are all the university committees that the professors attend. In terms of, if you like, running the teaching and the language students, it's*

often left to teach at senior lecturer level. (QL, January 2015)

While the exclusion of early-career academics from more 'prestige' roles could be seen to reflect academic hierarchies, the assignment of academic administrative posts concurs with the notion of *primus inter pares*: representative or senior amongst equals. In this context, seniority emerges from the accumulation of competences that are not limited to skills in research, teaching, and administration. There is also the set of interpersonal and diplomatic skills:

> *It [head of subject group] has to be a relatively senior faculty member because there's a certain amount of diplomacy and kind of knowing the people involved. Because when you are sorting out people's workloads, some people are going to be happy, some aren't. So, you need to kind of know who you can attach to a difficult job and whom you can't. Who might need to, you might need to sit down and explain why they got to take on this course this year. Things like that so, it requires interpersonal skills and levels of kind of knowledge of the internal politics of the organisation. (PK, November 2014)*

As I point out in Section 6.1.2, the line-managerial relations at State University Business School are more about organising than being led or told how to teach and do research. Similarly, being assigned to an academic, administrative, or leadership post does not mean that one has the power to command or demand. Instead, as the interviewee notes, 'there's a certain amount of diplomacy' that is required in a more senior administrative role. Professional authority can therefore be considered complimentary to collegiate authority, as both require consideration and discretion.

However, consideration and discretion do not necessarily result in equality. An example of this is the case of workloads. As with State University Business School, the workload model is based on a certain number of hours that academics are expected to teach, research, and administrate per year. Reflective of the collegiate ethos emphasising transparency, all abatements are tied either to certain activities or administrative roles, and the workload model has been revised in the School Board. Nevertheless, there are indications that workloads could underpin diversification amongst academics. The division seems to emerge between early-career and established academics in terms of how workload model reflects the actual hours spent on certain activities:

> *I think the workload model is quite generous. And what I mean by that is we probably put in less hours than what is reflected in the workload. Why I say that is if you are teaching the same class for the third year in the row, the amount of time you need to prep in the third year is less than the first year, right you have taught it a lot, and you are familiar with, you know what I mean, right, so but yes, the workload model would not reflect that. (SL, December 2014)*

The quote directs attention to how engagement in academic work accumulates into skills and repositories of previous experience. In practical terms, teaching the same course for the third year in the row means that the time allocated for preparation does not necessarily reflect the hours spent on preparations, as the interviewee points out. However, while the differences between early-career and established academics could be seen 'natural', there are indications that the pressures in the early-career stage are not necessarily related to being a 'newcomer':

> *[T]he problem is when you, I don't want to scare you, I don't know if you*

> *have a partner, but when you start a lectureship, the world is really academia, and you have to do very good performances at teaching. And when I started, the RAE/REF was coming […] so, in three years I produced three RAE/REF-able papers, so I did quite a lot. But of course, this meant working a lot. (RN, January 2015)*

To a certain extent, it is not a surprise that the early-career stage is characterised by tensions. While this could be seen to reflect being new in the profession, the references to the RAE/REF and teaching performance point out how expectations placed on academic work are not all about becoming a competent academic with the right interpersonal skills and insider knowledge. Instead, these skills have to be such that they conform with expectations stemming managerial authority discussed more detail in the following section.

From a career agency perspective, University College Business School shows how practices underpinned by collegiate and professional authorities are not automatically inclusive. As pointed out in Section 6.2.1, there is the question of who is considered as 'an equal peer' which provides the underpinnings for inclusion and exclusion. At the same time, the case of workloads points out how meanings associated to certain practices change as authorities intersect and intertwine with each other. While the workload model is revised in accordance with collegiate authority, and professional authority underpins its organisation, managerial authority, discussed in the following section, places additional pressures on those who have yet to acquire the skills required in academia.

6.2.3 Managerial authority: Relations of evaluations

In contrast to collegiate and professional authorities that emphasise professional

consideration, managerial authority emerges from a set of practices and consequences of those practices that aim to enhance a specific dimension within academic work and orient academic practices in such a way that they contribute to the success of University College Business School. In the case of University College Business School, the success can be defined as performing well in relevant audits and rankings. In practical terms, managerial authority is captured in practices that result in relations of evaluation and organisation that use commensurable units in reference to academic activities. The reliance on commensurable units places managerial authority in tension with professional authority.

The contradictions between managerial and professional authority are most notable in teaching. One established academic recalls how teaching evaluations were not previously shared with everyone but used for 'personal benefit'. This recalled situation sharply contrasts the current situation, this interviewee explained:

> *But now these teaching evaluations are supposed to be returned by the students to the administrator team, in case we would really alter them. And then those are given to the head of school you know, so they are analysed first, and the results go to the head of school. And so, anybody that had less than four points, four out of five I think, has to reply to him with why they got less, and what they are going to do revise it. (UQ, December 2014)*

The interviewee's description of teaching evaluations is indicative of how the current evaluations not only employ numeric outcomes but also attempt to ensure that teaching quality remains consistent across the business school. In contrast to professional authority, which draws on the discretion and trust that underpin professionalism (Evetts, 2009),

relations emerging from managerial authority reduce nuanced and context-dependent evaluations to numeric units or scores. This reductionism is captured in the interviewees' attitudes towards teaching evaluations, which suggested some apprehension. It was claimed that survey outcomes often reflect students' moods at the time of the survey or their personal likes and dislikes, rather than teaching quality. Thus, teaching scores are seldom used as an indicator of professional success.

Another tension is revealed in an interviewee's explanation of how students are framed as units:

> *[T]he managerial and administrative side of things which tend to speak students as essentially units of income and expenditure. Now, generally speaking, students bring in more than the university spends on educating, housing and taking care of them. So, this regard that particular section of university is concerned, you know, with the more students we can... we can have at the university, the better, because it means more money. (PK, November 2014)*

Reflective of the current funding structure, in which tuition fees are a major reoccurring financial resource, students are framed as 'units' of income and expenditure, which turns students into a source for income. However, the problem with the 'units' approach is that it departs from nuanced context-dependent knowledge, as the same interviewee identified:

> *[T]eachers are not units of teaching either. So, you know, the second term, there's a teaching gap on the MBA. Now, you know, 'Oh, no problem we got two lecturers coming in.' Yes, but one of them just finished her PhD*

and, seriously, I would not put her in front of the MBA class. You know MBAs, I like teaching MBAs, but this is that full understanding that MBAs generally are sort of people with no fear […] [E]qually there is the question of where the teaching comfort zones are, you know. Say that suddenly there's a gap in a change management course, so I ask a colleague, 'Can you teach it?' She is like, 'Well, it is not my research area. I would be teaching the textbook.' And I am like, 'Well, in this case, you kind of have to teach the textbook.' (PK, November 2014)

As the interviewee's quote shows, filling teaching gaps is not a straightforward process because academics and modules cannot be framed as interchangeable units. Drawing on the understanding of students and lecturers as interchangeable units, managerial authority not only contradicts the highly valued unity between research and teaching (Malcolm and Zukas, 2009; Boyer, 1990), but ignores the diversity amongst academics and student bodies. Thus, discretion underpinning professional authority is undermined when subject groups have to ensure the required teaching delivery.

However, the deliberate emphasis on the collegiate atmosphere within University College Business School has created an organisational career context in which there are spaces to 'do things' differently. According to one interviewee,

Many places would say that you have to only submit to three or four-star journals. But our school, our head of school, for example when we were seeing who would be put into the REF and what scores we all had, he said that we weren't to use the ABS. That's the traditional ranking system [for journals]. We weren't to use that. We were... Actually [we] internally

> *audited the papers to come up with a fairer, you know, ranking. So, he tries to do things differently. I don't know if that really worked either, but you know it was a different way of approaching it. So, I think here we are very lucky actually, and we have retained a more collegial participative atmosphere against all these changes that are coming. (UQ, December 2014)*

While the decision to not use ABS list, a journal ranking that lists business and management journals based on their perceived impact to their field, in the REF submission was proposed by the head of business school, this decision highlights how University College Business School can exhibit some agency in deciding how to respond to expectations. Rather than giving in to journal fetishism (Willmott, 2011), the business school drew on internal peer reviews in their previous REF submission. While this can be seen as a situation in which the practices of professional self-control overlap with managerial audits (Musselin, 2013), the decision to not to use ABS listing points out how collegiate authority, when applied at an organisational level, can form a point of resistance to managerial authority.

However, while there are spaces to resist and retain certain ideas, this space does not indicate that academics can entirely escape from the expectations stemming from the wider field. As I point out in Section 6.2.2, the divisions between early-career and established academics are accelerated by the expectations of 'high teaching ratings' and 'refable papers'. Similarly, heads of subject groups have to depart from professional consideration to ensure course delivery in cases where academics' research interests and modules do not concur with each other. From a career agency perspective, this departure suggests that exposure to external influences in a positional career context may be tied to how individuals are placed in the intersecting relations. Academic administrative posts, as well as the early-career stage, could

be seen as more vulnerable; as it is in those positions that academics have to respond to expectations stemming from managerial authority. Thus, while collegiate authority can provide some protection and space to choose how to approach research audits such as the RAE/REF, this protection does not result in full or even equal coverage for everyone.

6.3 Conclusion: Adventitious and positional career context as the contexts for career agency

In this chapter, I set out to explore how State University Business School and University College Business School as organisational career contexts are defined by the organisation of academic work. As summarised in Section 6.1, the organisation of academic work at State University Business School aligns with bureaucratic, professorial, and managerial authorities, whereas collegiate, professional, and managerial authority forms the basis for the organisation of work at University College Business School, as noted in Section 6.2. Together, these authorities form the network of relations in which decision-making powers shift within and beyond the business school, while placing academics in relation to each other and their activities.

While shifts in decision-making power occur both in adventitious and positional career contexts, there are slight differences in how the business schools as organisational career contexts are able to respond to external expectations, as well as in the ways in which individual academics are exposed to them. While decisions regarding how academic work is organised are made within the subject groups at State University Business School, the rewards and what is expected from academic work are set elsewhere. Moreover, there are indications of internal fragmentation, related to how the organisation of academic work differs across the subject groups. As how academic work is organised and valued differs

slightly across the subject groups, the conditions for career agency can vary across the subject groups.

While the teaching and research excellence frameworks are imposed by external actors, resulting in managerial authority, collegiate and professional authorities at University College Business School provide a point of resistance. As identified above, collegiate authority emphasising inclusion and transparency within the business school allows spaces to do 'things differently'. Despite this flexibility, while collegiate and professional authorities might provide protection in certain matters, the case of promotions highlights how the very same authorities that further inclusion and transparency in one context might become tools for exclusion in other contexts. At the same time, there are differences in how academics are exposed to managerial authority. As I determine in this chapter, being assigned to an academic administrative post or being early-career academic can be seen as points in which managerial authority is more consequential. Thus, while University College Business School as a department has some agency in deciding how to respond to managerial authority, this agency does not necessarily extend to individuals.

In this chapter, the focus is on the context of career agency. By adopting this focus, it sets the scene for the following chapters. In the following chapter, I continue my discussion by tracing career moves in both business schools to discern the differences between an adventitious and positional career context and how engagement in academic work accumulates into career capital in an adventitious and positional career context.

CHAPTER SEVEN
ACADEMIC CAREERS: MAPPING OUT THE CONDITIONS OF CAREER AGENCY

In the previous chapter, I explore the differences between adventitious and positional career contexts by tracking how intersecting authorities place academics in certain relations to their colleagues and activities while shifting decision-making powers within and beyond the business schools. While both State University Business School and University College Business School are shaped by external factors, the latter has some agency, as an organisational career context, in how to position and respond to these expectations. The recognition of this agency does not entail that academics are fully sheltered from research audits at University College Business School, however. As I remark in my conclusion, early-career academics and those in academic administrative posts are exposed to expectations stemming from managerial authority.

To further my discussion, I turn my attention to careers and to the conditions of career agency and set out to answer the following question; *How do academic careers emerge at State University and University College Business Schools?* In my discussion, I draw on the notion of career capital. As I point out in Section 4.3.2, my formulation of career capital adapts Bourdieu's (1986) definition of capital as 'accumulated labour'. Building on this

understanding, career capital accumulates through engagement in academic activities, but only under the condition that other actors in the field acknowledge these engagements. While this formulation of career capital could further the understanding of academics as individualistic career capitalist, the subsequent empirical analysis directs attention to the conditions of career agency. Thus, rather than focusing on how to become a rational career capitalist, the subsequent analysis discusses how the authorities organising academic work and the underpinnings of adventitious and positional career contexts shape how career capitals are defined and applied at State University and University College Business Schools.

I start my analysis by outlining how the careers of academic women have converged at State University Business School so far in Section 7.1. I thus further my discussion of the underpinnings of the adventitious career context, after which I turn my attention to economic, social, and cultural career capitals in Sections 7.2.1, 7.2.2, and 7.2.3. Afterward, I turn my attention to University College Business School and examine how the careers of academic women have developed in Section 7.3, whereas in Sections 7.4.1, 7.4.2 and, 7.4.3, I attend to economic, social, and cultural career capital in a positional career context. I conclude this chapter in Section 7.5

7.1 State University Business School: Accidental academics on precarious trajectories

As I summarise in Section 6.2, based on my analysis I understand State University Business School as an adventitious career context in which career-building and employment opportunities emerge in an *ad hoc* manner. This dynamic is captured in common trends of somewhat accidental entries into academia and in the academics' work being comprised of successive temporary contracts. Careers in an adventitious career context are not necessarily

random, however. On the contrary, while the initial drift into academia might seem accidental, certain factors must be in place to ensure that careers continue:

> *I cannot really tell. I don't know, maybe not an academic career as such. Perhaps it is a typical background. I was a research assistant like so many others who have ended up being picked up. The supervisor looks that—that one could be a suitable one [candidate]—and then things just fell in place, there were right people, and there were suitable projects through which you got into research. (TE, March 2015)*

This answer captures a typical trend amongst the interviewees. In the context of State University Business School, the careers of academic women were often initiated through their hiring as research assistants or teaching assistants, followed by doctoral studies at some point. While some had worked or studied elsewhere, most interviewees had undertaken all their studies at State University Business School, which is common in the Finnish context. As Hoffman (2007) notes, Finnish academics tend to stay at the university where they received their first degree.

At the time of the interviews, State University's website offered an example of a model career as a four-stage research career pathway, summarised in Table 7.1. Still, the shift to the tenure-track model was in its early stages:

> *We are going in that direction, but it's in its early stages. It is going to take years because people have to retire first before their positions can be opened up as tenure-track positions. So, it is going to take some time. We have not done what has been done in some other places that everyone's*

Table 7.1 The changes in the career structure at State University			
The previous career structure		**The four-stage research career structure**	
Career stage and titles	**Degree**	**Career stage and titles**	**Degree**
Senior level		*Established researcher*	
Full professor (Adjunct professor) (Docent)	PhD	Professor Research director	
Middle-level		*Independent researcher*	
Lecturer Senior assistant	Licentiate	Specialist Senior Researcher lecturer (lecturer)	
		Postdoctoral stage	
		Post-doc / University lecturer	PhD
Lower level		*Doctoral training*	
Assistant	MA	University teacher Doctoral student	MA
Research assistant		Research assistant / Intern	BA (MA)
Source: The previous career structure, Stolte-Heiskanen (1993: 22) Välimaa et al. (2016). The current structure draws on how the interviewees described the differences between titles.			

position is turned into a tenure-track post. (LP, March 2015)

In contrast to some universities in Finland (Herbert and Tienari, 2013), there were no plans to move all positions to a tenure-track but rather to shift gradually through retirement or the establishment of new posts, as the interviewee notes. In line with the observations made by Välimaa et al. (2016), a situation has arisen in which the four-stage career structure provides a frame of reference for academic careers, at the same time as the career trajectories were unclear:

It is the career pathway, this new career pathway model. A teacher, I think, doesn't have to have her PhD defence yet, whereas a lecturer has to be a

> *PhD. A researcher is more advanced before there was a specialist researcher position, but it is called now a 'university researcher'. A professor is the highest and first, [then] there are the doctoral students, and then the researcher pathway and the teacher pathway, but I am not sure in which I am because previously I was a teacher and I am now a researcher. But the work has remained the same, so the career pathways are not clear in practice. And then there are some old titles, such as 'lector', which does not exist anymore. But if you were hired with that title, it remains 'lector'. The position of lector is more about teaching, and university a researcher focuses more on research, but both do both. So, I do not think it is that clearly managed. (KO, March 2015)*

This interviewee's response shows how academic positions can be divided into a certain hierarchical order. Doctoral students are at the first stage, whereas professors are at the final stage. However, in contrast to University College Business School, where academics are placed either in research and teaching or in a teaching-focused career pathway based on their main activity, the division between career trajectories was unclear at the moment of the interviews. One of the patterns in interviews was that while the titles and contracts might change, there were not necessarily significant changes in working practices.

Another observation is the high prevalence of temporary contracts. Seven out of 15 interviewees had a permanent contract at the time of interview, and no-one had landed a permanent position immediately. Instead, each had worked temporary contracts for years:

> *The first time I got a permanent position, I had been for years. I had three months stints; one year is already quite a long [contract]. Even though*

there should be mostly permanent positions according to law, there are not that many. Of course, certain positions, such as the former assistant which was for those doing their doctoral thesis or currently for doctoral students, so, naturally those are [fixed-term]. (NS, March 2015)

While the lack of permanency was mentioned regularly in the interviews, the general understanding was that early-career positions, such as doctoral researcher or post-docs, are naturally fixed. Nevertheless, while there were references to permatisations, in which a previously temporary position is turned into a permanent one, the general understanding was that the permatisation of a temporary contract is rare. Thus, as Välimaa (2001b) notes, one of the major career moves is to secure a permanent contract.

One of the reasons behind the temporary contracts was the source of funding. While budget-funded positions are often permanent ones, externally funded positions are tied to the length of funding (Siekkinen et al., 2017; Nikunen, 2012). Building on this division, temporary contracts at State University Business School can be divided into roughly three categories: project research in which the length of a contract is tied to the length of funding, interim and acting positions. While the division between acting and interim positions is blurred, there are slight differences in how acting and interim positions emerge. Acting positions are used when an academic post becomes vacant for a certain period while the initial post holder is elsewhere:

Already when I started, it was common that someone was on a research leave [sabbatical] or somewhere, and then you took care of that position. The organisation of acting positions is such. And the one thing, which is a fact, that academia is becoming feminised, so parental leaves are a legit

reason for being one, two, or three years away. (LP, March 2015)

In contrast to University College, where all academic staff can apply for merit-based paid research or pedagogical sabbaticals, the research leaves at State University are tied to ability to ensure research funding. Thus, abrupt shifts can occur, as someone suddenly receives funding or a scholarship. In addition to research leaves are the personal circumstances, for example parental leaves. While maternity leave and parental leaves last in total 263 weekdays, child home care allowance, constituted by a monthly care allowance and care supplement based on number of children, extends up to three years. As the interviewee points out, parental leaves can amount to up to three years.

Interim positions are used when a position is established and it has not been occupied by anyone, as one interviewee explained:

> *When a professorship is opened, it is quite a long process [to recruit], so someone has to act as an interim professor meanwhile. So, this person leaves their position to take care of the professorship, and that position becomes temporarily available for a year. So, someone who is in a lower position in the department takes that position over, and then someone takes over the latter position, and so on. (SY, March 2015)*

Interim positions can result in a temporary upward domino effect within a department or a subject group. Academics take a step upward to ensure that all positions are covered until a professor is appointed. The interim and acting positions capture the essence of the adventitious career-context. Rather than being placed in a clearly defined positional pathway, career and employment opportunities result both from organisational practices and

from changes in individual circumstances.

Thus, it seems that academics drift between positions and contracts instead of purposefully working towards a certain goal. However, this is not to say that there is no logic in how academic careers emerge. As I point out in the following section, academic careers at State University Business School can be seen to align with a cumulative model in which career progression, or securing a permanent contract, requires the constant accumulation of relevant outputs and achievements (Kwiek and Antonowicz, 2015). While this alignment indicates a rather straightforward approach to academic careers, being placed in an adventitious career context means that career and employment opportunities emerge in an *ad hoc* manner. Thus, in the following sections, I attend to economic, social, and cultural career capitals and explore how these emerge in an adventitious career context.

7.2 Field-relevant career capital in an adventitious career context

In the previous section, I outline how career movements within State University Business School do not necessarily result in an ascending trajectory within a pre-set career pathway. However, while careers seem accidental, there are certain factors that seem to turn the initial drift into academia into a more permanent stay. As one interviewee noted in the previous section, a combination of the right projects and people turns an initially accidental drift into academia into a permanent stay. To understand how this transformation occurs, I apply the notions of economic, social, and cultural career capitals.

As I point out in Section 4.3.2, I understand economic career capital to emerge from a set of practices and the consequences of those practices that are significant in accumulating financial gains, both private and public. Thus, the concept of economic career capital

provides a lens through which to explore how engagement in income-generating activities contributes to career progression. Similarly, social career capital is understood as emergent from a set of practices and the consequences of those practices that are consequential in establishing and maintaining professional relations. Hence, all academic activities have the potential to accumulate into social career capital as long as they result in professional relations, social connections, and group memberships (Iellatchitch et al., 2003). As cultural career capital includes the dimensions of cultivation, values, interests and skills and knowledge (Iellatchitch et al., 2003; Defillipi and Arthur, 1994), I have interpreted cultural career capital as emergent from practices linked to the reproduction of academic profession. Thus, the subsequent analysis explores how economic, social, and cultural career capitals emerge and are used in an adventitious career context.

7.2.1 Economic capital: bad and good money sustaining career continuity or remaining employed

As I point out above, economic career capital directs attention to how engagement in income-generating activities contributes to career progression. Based on my analysis, there are indications of what I label as the labourisation of academic work. The notion of labourisation begins with Arendt's (1958) division between work and labour. While work accumulates into acknowledged achievements, labour refers to activities that sustain communities but do not accumulate into acknowledged achievements (Arendt, 1958). To a certain extent, the labourisation of academic activities is directly linked to the funding structure underpinning academia. As there are no tuition fees for Finnish or EU students, research-related activities cover around 45% of income for the whole State University (Vipunen, 2017). While the income generated through research activities can be seen as indicative of State University's research-intensive orientation, externally funded project research does not necessarily

concur with academic research. For example, the European Regional Development Fund projects focus mainly on regional development, whereas research funded by various ministries often leads to policy briefs and reports. While project research does not necessarily prohibit academic publishing, the problem is usually the tight project cycles:

> *[..] In the university world, the funding is in bits and pieces, and it means that when the previous project ends the next one starts. There isn't any time to write publications because it is not possible to do on project money. So, quite a few are on this kind of treadmill, that they would like to do their thesis research, but as projects come and go one after another, it is not really possible. (HL, March 2015)*

At State University Business School, where budget funding covers around 65% of income, externally funded projects are highly relevant in providing valuable income. Despite this relevance, the labourisation of academic work is both advantageous and disadvantageous for academics. While externally funded projects sustain employment, there is a danger of a project treadmill in which there is seldom time to focus on academic publications. One way to resolve the problem is to win an academic research grants to cover salary costs, and consequently, free time for other activities, as one interviewee identified:

> *I arranged my own time. After getting a research grant, I have been able to do research for real. I have been a post-graduate student already a few years, but it is only now that I am really progressing, as previously I could focus on my research only on my own time. (JN, March 2015)*

The interviewee's situation captures a general trend in Finland. Doctoral research is often

conducted while working on temporary contracts. Thus, the interviewee's situation captures the general trend in the interviews. The doctoral research might stall because of lack of time or is done whenever there is a spare moment and on own time, as the interviewee points out. Thus, a research grant provides a solution as it covers the salary costs for a certain period. However, as all available funding is fixed term, a scholarship can provide only a temporary solution. The temporality shapes how individuals engage in academic work, while some try to find further funding, others may focus only on those activities that can be finished while being employed:

> *I had a two-year contract, so, the first year, you can do whatever you like, and write whatever you want. But it turned out then that it [the contract] was not going to be renewed. The funding [for the position] had been lost, so I was told to apply for all kinds of grants. I made eight to 10 grant applications to Academy of Finland and foundations. Some of them were not sent; in some cases, the plans changed in such a way that there was no role for me in the project anymore. I made lots of applications, and I did not have any time to write publications. (ST, March 2015)*

While the above example is extreme, it identifies how unpredicted changes in university funding have ramifications for subject groups and academics. While a two-year contract is considered relatively long at State University Business School, the constant uncertainty means that time is spent on finding further funding, as happened the interviewee's case. In some cases, the constant uncertainty directs how academics orient themselves in relation to academic work:

> *The constant uncertainty, it really consumes you. You cannot really focus*

> *on anything. Like, should I do some research? Well, is it sensible to start anything because it is going to be just this one year? Maybe, I'll just focus on teaching and improve my lectures and write lecturing materials. (SY, March 2015)*

The quote points out how the constant threat of unemployment creates a temporal lens through which academic orient themselves in relation to work. As there is no promise of permanence, it is feasible to focus on those activities that can be finished before the current contract ends. In practical terms, it is the longer research projects, which could result in publications, that become unfeasible as there is no certainty that they can be finished.

In the case of University College Business School, economic career capital directs attention to how the dependency on external funding furthers otherwise already-precarious working conditions. The consequences are twofold. From a career agency perspective, the labourisation of academic work forms a catch-22 situation. As research becomes labour that sustains academic communities, being employed as a project researcher might provide for the following stint but does not necessarily translate into research publications. On the other hand, the constant uncertainty frames how academic orient themselves in relation to academic work. While a longer contract might give some leeway in the beginning, the constant uncertainty means that academics spend time on trying to find further funding or focus on projects that can be finished while being employed. Thus, the labourisation of academic work is not necessarily about engaging in income generating activities but there is also the constant search for further funding that takes time away from other activities.

7.2.2 Social capital: Stability and sociality on precarious careers pathways

In the case of State University Business School, social career capital can be divided into conventional networking activities, whereas the other side of social career capital emphasises academic group memberships that provide support and stability in an adventitious career context. While these two dimensions are interlinked, the importance of international strategic networking has increased, owing to managerial authority, as discussed in Section 6.1.3:

> *Yes, you have to have international articles, because you get more research points. If you are the only Finn in an article, you get all the points. It favours writing with foreign colleagues instead of Finnish ones. Then you have to go to international conferences; you get points when you attend international conferences and take part in teacher exchanges. (KO, March 2015)*

The observation of how writing with international colleagues gives an academic all the research points is in line with Nokkala's (2007) observations of how the internationalisation discourses often emphasise strategic cooperation and coalition making. The underpinning rationale for strategic international networking emerges from the current university funding formula, which as discussed in Section 6.1.3, has resulted in a frame of reference in which academic work is evaluated based on how it features in funding allocations. Thus, as the interviewee points out, co-writing with international colleagues and going to international conferences can lead to valuable research publications.

Still, the case of State University Business School highlights how social career capital is not necessarily all about strategic networking that furthers mobility across the career field. Instead, social career capital can be defined in terms of support on a precarious trajectory:

> *My own experience is that because I have had mentors, the route has been a bit smoother. For example, if your, and of course it does not have to be your official line-manager, but it can be someone else, a trustworthy and respected colleague, whom you find, or if you do not find a senior colleague, you can look for support and strength from your research community. But being alone is difficult, and it is really tough to progress alone. (IM, March 2015)*

Previous work has pointed out how protégé system has played a role in reproducing (Luukkonen-Gronow, 1987). While the interviewee here does not refer to protégé system here but mentoring it directs attention to the role established academics can be influential in coping with the precarious working conditions in an adventitious career context. In the interviewee's case, mentors meant that 'route has been a bit smoother'. One interviewee pointed out how her line-manager has been flexible with the timing of courses. Another recalled how one of the teachers in charge always tried to take care of everyone. Even though the conditions of employment did not necessarily change that considerably, the teacher in charge's efforts made the situation a bit more tolerable. Moreover, the comment about how 'being along is difficult' directs attention to how academic community can be an essential source of support. In fact, the supportive research community and colleagues, each of which were also brought up in the interviews as reasons to stay in academia. These observations suggest that social career capital, understood as social connections and group memberships (Iellatchitch et al., 2003), is highly relevant in an adventitious career context.

However, while the tendency in the existing research is to frame social career capital as beneficial to individuals (Defillipi and Arthur, 1994; Inkson et al., 1999), the case of State University Business School highlights how temporary contracts and sudden shifts have their consequences for subject groups:

> *Sometimes, there can be quite a few quick moves when someone moves forward, and as teaching needs to be covered, so obviously you ask around, who that would be: 'Do you know anyone who could [teach] because they might be leaving? Or has applied for a grant, and is going to be on research leave for a couple of years, so who could be interested in?' You don't necessarily trust that you would find someone who really could do it. It [teaching] can be rather specific; you should be teaching this and that, and it is not easy to find the right kind of person quickly. (NS, March 2015)*

As an adventitious career context is characterised by sudden shifts finding the right candidate for a specific role can be a difficult task, as the interviewee notes. Thus, individual networks can be used a resource for finding potential candidates. Hence, being known by others or having worked successfully in the subject group previously can prompt a job offer:

> *This person moved to another university, and the professor asked, 'Could you take over that post?' It was for them really easy because [I] knew already the courses and house rules. (JN, March 2015)*

However, having the right skills is not necessarily sufficient to secure a job. There is also an element of trust, as the same interviewee emphasised:

> *We have been getting along, tolerated each other, and I find it quite comforting. There might not be that many applicants because this is a bit specific topic, and besides, I feel like they trust quite a lot that I succeed in my work and my commitment. (JN, March 2015)*

While the number of applicants might not be high, owing to the specialist field, there is an element of trust and sociability, as the references to 'getting along' and 'tolerating each other' suggest. To a certain extent, the need for trust and sociability can be related to the framing of academic work as an activity which ideally does not require instruction on a day-to-day basis, as I point out in Section 6.1.2. The question of trust in someone's capabilities thus becomes essential as the assumption is that academics do not need anyone to check out that they do what is expected. Hence, social career capital is not only about being known by others but having a standing as a reliable colleague. In this context, getting along furthers trust. Unsurprisingly, problems in chemistry between individuals can spiral into serious issues:

> *Of course, you hear rumours that the relationships between the staff are strained and so on. Obviously, with trust then, it is usually in those situations in which control and monitoring steps in. But we don't have that at all. The relationships in our subject group are really good, and that's why trust has remained as well. (SY, March 2015)*

In line with other interviews, there were references to subject groups or corridors where people did not get along. The sign of such interpersonal strife was closed office doors.

As mentioned earlier, social career capital can be considered to have two sides: a stabilising

side and a strategic side. While the stabilising dimension relates to the underpinning adventitious career context, the strategic network can be seen to emerge as a response to expectations stemming from managerial authority. As the career and employment opportunities emerge in an *ad hoc* manner in an adventitious career context, local networks are highly relevant for individuals who want to enter and remain employed. At the same time, social networks are crucial when subject groups need to find someone quickly. Thus, it is not only the individuals but also subject groups that benefit from social career capital. However, while social career capital can be seen as a stabilising factor in an adventitious career context, there is incentive for strategic networking activities as well, owing to the current funding formula that rewards international publishing and conference visits. Thus, social career capital can be seen to be shaped, on the one hand, by the expectations stemming from managerial authority that motivate strategic networking, on the other hand, by the underpinning adventitious career context, in which social connections and group memberships (Iellatchitch et al., 2003) can provide support for individuals and stability for subject groups.

7.2.3 Cultural capital: Cultivation and contradictions

In my formulation of cultural career capital, I understand it as emergent from all activities relevant to the reproduction of the academic profession. These activities extend from recruitment and PhD training to teaching to research and administration. While the broad definition could be seen to embrace all dimensions of academic work, there are indications of what I label ‘conversion of cultural career capital’. This term refers to a subtle shift in which managerial authority starts to underpin what is expected from academics as employees. At the same time, cultural career capital in an adventitious career can be seen as a means of securing economic career capital. It is the underpinning career context and

authorities organising work that shape how career capital is defined and used.

While careers in an adventitious career context are characterised by shifts and drifts from one contract to another, the seemingly accidental nature of this trajectory does not mean it has no logic. On the contrary, as the following interviewee points, out there is a 'logic of academic career-making', and moreover, the logic is becoming increasingly important:

> *I understand that even though you don't want to become a professor, you have to take care of that you have the possibility to do it. It cannot be done in such a way that you neglect one area, because the whole logic is based on the idea that everyone wants to become a professor. Because sooner or later, you are going to be in trouble if you don't have any goals or targets. I think it has become clearer and clearer. (RV, March 2015)*

The observation that the logic of academic careers is based on the assumption 'that everyone wants to become a professor' directs attention to how careers at State University Business School align with the constant accumulation of relevant outputs (Kwiek and Antonowicz, 2015). While this could be seen to be 'natural' in academia, as in the end being a professor is seen as the highpoint of career, some interviewees explicitly rejected the professorial route. Thus, the relevance of goals is not necessarily related to becoming a professor:

> *If you want to be part of academy projects, you have to progress according to the academic career pathway which Academy of Finland has defined and on the other hand, the career pathway the university in question has. So, the progress, it has to be goal oriented and determined, whereas until the PhD defence, the goal is the thesis, which in academic world does not*

really give anything else than the possibility to start. (HL, March 2015)

The quote captures how the external expectations might, in fact, shape how careers are approached. As pointed out above, the implementation of the four-stage research career structure was in its initial stage at the time of interviews However, as Academy of Finland's grant categories are based on the four-stage research career structure, there is a clear incentive to follow the career structure. Moreover, the observations of how the PhD thesis '*does not really give anything else that the possibility to start*' directs attention to how cultural career capital becomes a tool or instrument for gaining something else. While the doctoral defence was previously the precondition only for professorial appointments (Stolte-Heiskanen, 1993), it is increasingly becoming an early-career milestone, as the interviewee notes. In practical terms, the doctoral defence currently provides access to post-doc funding and positions.

Another example of cultural career capital becoming a tool for improving one's access to funding is the title of docent. This title is currently rewarded to those who apply for it and exhibit comprehensive knowledge of their fields, demonstrate a capacity for independent research, and display effective teaching skills. While the title of docent does not result in an employment relationship between the academic and the docent-awarding university, it is perceived to legitimate acting as a research leader in a grant application. The PhD defence and the title of docent, which previously could be seen as career milestones, therefore act more as enablers that can increase the access to the right kind of research funding and the ability to remain in academia in an adventitious career context.

While the quote in the beginning suggests that all areas, from teaching to research and administration, should be taken into account, the general understanding was that it is only

international publications in the right journals that matter in recruitment, as I point in Section 6.1.3. From a career agency perspective, while teachers in charge and heads of departments are not in positions of power to define how academic work is rewarded or how academics execute their daily activities, as pointed out in Chapter 6, they do have a role in communicating how the subject group should respond to the expectations stemming from managerial authority. Thus, a situation can emerge in which research is emphasised at the cost of other activities:

> *It really depends on who is the line-manager, teacher in charge and [who is in] charge of the subject group, and what they think. It is indicated that you should not waste any time on teaching, and it should be done [spending] as little time [on it] as possible. It is pointless because it is not rewarded. The only thing that is looked at in recruitment and is counted is how many articles you have published. If there are none, it is not an excuse [to say] that you have spent your time on teaching and developing it. It should really be done without wasting any time on it. (LK, April 2015)*

Reflective of the current streamlined organisation, the role of the teacher in charge in defining how academic work is evaluated in subject groups creates situations in which some might be more directly exposed to expectations stemming from managerial authority. This influence can be seen to further diversification amongst academics. In certain subject groups, being a teaching-focused academic was not necessarily a disadvantage, and in some cases, a teaching position could provide permanence. The difference does not necessarily emerge between those who are on teaching contract and those in research positions but depends on the subject group in question and how the teacher in charge approaches academic work, as the interviewee points out.

As the route forward seems to emphasise publishing at the cost of other aspects of academic work, some of the established academics expressed concerns that those recruited based only on their publications may not have the set of skills required of a professorial role:

> *If you think about the current research career structure, so it focuses on research evidence, and if you think about my current position and what is required, so the research side – it is just small part of it. If you have no previous experience in teaching and how to develop it, so it is difficult to understand how a person starts to develop Master's programmes if the previous experience is more about giving visiting lectures. Or if you have never supervised postgraduate students, and then you are appointed as a professor, and you are given PhD students. So, I doubt you are going to be a good supervisor. In the research career structure, certain areas are emphasised and perhaps because universities are rewarded based on those areas, but the certain areas are too strongly emphasised. (LP, March 2015)*

This explanation highlights the contradictions between what is expected of those in a professorial role, what the four-stage research career system consists of, and how universities are rewarded. While research is often described as an essential part of what academics do, in the end, it is only one dimension of the various responsibilities that extend from PhD supervisions to line-managerial roles. Another point raised in the interviews was doctoral education. As universities are currently rewarded based on the number of doctoral degrees awarded, there is an incentive to increase PhD recruitment and streamline doctoral education. Thus, some interviewees expressed that the early-career academics who have gone through streamlined doctoral programmes might not be equipped as well for academic

life as those who had time to drift and explore.

In summary, the case of State University Business School highlights a subtle shift in which managerial authority starts to underpin career progression. I conceive this as the conversion of cultural career capital. From a career agency perspective, the conversion of cultural career capital sends a clear message regarding how academic careers should be approached. The focus should be on publishing at cost of teaching and administration. However, as the final interviewee points out, an emphasis on publication does not take consider how academics in senior roles engage in diverse activities, from teaching to research and PhD supervisions and developing Master's programmes. Hence, the perception of an employable academic may be somewhat one-dimensional and problematic for academic communities. While the expectations stemming from managerial authority gives a clear message that it is only the publications in right journals that matter, there are also critical voices that question the rationality of focusing on research at the cost of other dimensions of academic work.

7.3 University College Business School: Mobile academics on the career ladder

As I point out in Chapter 6, University College Business School conforms to what I call a 'positional career context': a career context in which academic careers tend to follow an ascending trajectory from lecturers and towards professorship (Angermuller, 2017; Strike and Tylor, 2008). The main difference in academic careers between State University Business School and University College Business School was captured by an interviewee who explained how University College Business School finds its professors:

I suppose there are two routes. One of them is the internal promotion

> *route, which quite a lot of people go for. And that, we do that every year, and so that just works… it goes through departments and then it goes through university level promotion committee and they go out to do externals and so on. Or you can apply for an advert. But obviously the people who do the internal route, you don't necessarily have a slot in your department for that, but if you are going through the external route, you do. (KF, January 2015)*

The quote captures how a positional career context is characterised by two kinds of movements: vertical shifts between business schools s and upward movements through promotions. Five of the interviewees had been hired to University College Business School as lecturers; the rest had been employed in more senior roles. In fact, one of the distinctive features of a positional career context is that there is a clearly defined path ahead for those who have ensured employment on research and teaching contracts, as summarised in Table 7.2:

> *I know that I have to meet the promotion criteria, but generally, there is a promotion for me after that. For instance, in some places, everyone gets these three-year contracts, and then from there, three post-docs start, and only one post-doc can really stay in the end in the department, so... and this is not the case; the system is just different. (LG, December 2014)*

The interviewee's statement suggests that a positional career context can be perceived as more transparent. This transparency contrasts places in which academic careers concur with the tenure-track model and in which the permanent contract, or tenure, is available only for those who pass the selection. Thus, a positional career context signals clearly how to move

Table 7.2 Career structure at University College Business School			
Research and teaching academics		**Teaching-focused academics**	
Title	**Degree requirement**	**Title**	**Degree requirement**
Established Professor (3 bands) Reader *Mid-career* Senior lecturer (probation) *Early-career* Lecturer (probation)	PhD	*Established* Senior lecturer (probation) *Early-career* Lecturer (probation)	PhD (not necessary for those with industry experience)
Source: promotion framework, see Appendix 7			

forwards. Nevertheless, this clarity does not necessarily translate into transparency in promotions, as I point out in Section 6.2.1.

Another point of difference between State University Business School and University College Business School can be found in the early stages of careers. While in both cases, interviewees made reference to accidentality and drifts, there are two distinct routes to academia. The first route was through teaching, whereas the second route through a post-graduate research degree. Four of out of 10 interviewees fall into the first category, whereas rest are in the latter group. There are slight differences in the motivations for starting to work in academia as well as in the subsequent career progression. Those who entered through teaching did not necessarily have an academic career in mind initially, but they looked for flexible and interesting work that could be combined with childcare responsibilities:

> *I thought it would give me a lot of flexibility. I think that was the most important thing. It had to be there were only a few hours in the contract,*

but actually, I didn't mind that. It really inspired me because I just wanted to be able to negotiate with childcare at work. (DH, December 2014)

The career trajectories of those who entered academia through teaching concur with Sabelis' (2010) notion of frayed careers, in which changes in caring responsibilities often shaped career progression. Along these lines, while the initial stage was characterised by sessional teaching, all the interviewees had done a PhD degree either to ensure a shift from sessional teaching to permanent employment or to facilitate a shift from a teaching-focused career pathway to a research-and-teaching track:

I taught for many years, and then I got a bit bored. So, I decided to do a PhD part-time whilst I was teaching. I enjoyed that because that allows you to get into research. (QL, January 2015).

In contrast to State University Business School, where academics shift between teaching and research positions, career trajectories in a positional career context are more rigid. University College, for example, currently accommodates two career pathways: one for teaching-focused academics and another for those working on research and teaching contracts. Thus, as the assumption is that the academics are placed in a certain trajectory based on their main role, the shifts between the career trajectories are more deliberate. As the interviewee above notes, doing a PhD allowed a shift from teaching to research. To a certain extent, the shifts between career trajectories are restricted by the workload model, discussed in Section 6.2.2. The main difference between the two career trajectories is that workload model for those on teaching and research contracts include a research allocation, whereas teaching-focused academics spend more time on teaching and administration and an allocation for scholarship. Thus, the shifts between career trajectories are not only about being assigned to a certain

role but have also consequences on how academics engage in academic work.

For those who started their careers by doing first a postgraduate research degree, the spark for entering academia often emerges during their studies. However, the route to secure employment has not necessarily been that straightforward. One of the first moves for interviewees was often about ensuring the first permanent contract:

> *I was briefly employed by another university which was, you know, it was essentially me you know getting in the door to full-time faculty. You know it's a good university, but really, you know, the culture was not really for me. So, pretty much as soon as I signed on then, I kind of knew not to be here too long. (PK, November 2014)*

The interviewee's reference to the 'culture' indicates how motivations for career shifts can emerge from the discrepancies between institutional missions and private aspirations. One of the dividing factors was research orientation and how it varies across the highly diverse English university sector, which is comprised of pre-92 universities, the post-92 universities that include the former polytechnics, and teaching-oriented higher education institutions that gained university status in 2004. While all these organisations are currently titled 'universities', they differ in institutional orientations and resources. Consequently, career moves between universities emerge from a need to find a working environment that concurs with private aspirations. Thus, University College could be seen as one context among others:

> *My main issue is the kind of... at least to get myself to the point where I got a fairly ironclad case for a professorship. So, if they don't promote*

me, then after at least I can go to another institution and say, would you? (PK, November 2014)

The observation that University College Business School can be understood as a positional career context draws attention to one of the crucial differences between adventitious and positional career contexts. In the former, the employment opportunities emerge in an *ad hoc* manner, and upward movement is not necessarily a norm; however, a positional career context is characterised by vertical moves from one institutional position to another and horizontal upward shifts through academic ranks. That said, there are differences in how individuals are able to move upward and forward. While there was a career-trajectory for teaching-focused academics, professorial roles were reserved for those on teaching and research contracts. In addition, and as already pointed out in the previous chapter, another division emerges between early-career and established academics. Thus, in the following sections, I make use of the notion of career capital to explore further how and why these divisions emerge.

7.4 Field-relevant career capital in a positional career context

In the previous section, I identify how academic careers emerge at University College Business School. Academics are hired directly to a certain role either on a teaching-focused career trajectory or on teaching and research pathway, in contrast to State University Business School, where academics shift from one contract to another. While certain differences remain in how career trajectories emerge, the academic careers in both business schools align with an accumulation model in which progression and ability remain in academia require the constant accumulation of relevant achievements and outputs (Kwiek and Antonowicz, 2015). Thus, as careers in a positional career context are constituted by

shifts from one position to another, I apply the notions of economic, social, and cultural career capitals to understand how these movements occur. As with State University Business School, there are indications of the labourisation of academic work (Arendt, 1958) and the conversion of cultural career capital at University College Business School. However, as the underpinning positional career context and the intersecting authorities shape how career capital becomes consequential, the following sections discusses in more detail how economic, social, and cultural career capitals emerge and are used in a positional career context.

7.4.1 Economic career capital: Public versus individual gains

In terms of funding, the situation at University College can be seen to reflect the wider developments in the English university sector. The financial statements specify that 62% of income came from tuition fees, 18% from research grants and contracts, and the rest from activities such as residence, catering, conferences, and other venue-related activities, at the time of interviews in late 2014 and early 2015. Although the student numbers were controlled at the time of interviews, the reliance on tuition fees required constant effort to ensure a steady flow of fee-paying students. Reflective of professional authority placing academics as responsible for a certain dimension within academic work, there is an admission tutor, who engages with student recruitment, organises open days, and attends student fairs. In addition, some of the undergraduate programmes were accredited by professional bodies to increase their attractiveness to the student market. In other words, teaching-related activities that aimed to ensure income are not confined to teaching delivery but extend to student recruitment, course design, professional accreditation, and pastoral care.

However, while teaching in terms of income generation was essential, the picture is not necessarily very clear:

> *The institution probably values the teaching side of it more because, as I said, it's kind of the immediate source of income for the university. You know, the student comes in, the student is taught, and the student leaves. But on the other hand, you know, my admin role is where I am more visible, and likewise in terms of research, I tend to be fairly consistent, say a good producer in terms of output and you know, this is definitely valued around the time of REF, you know, that the people who are consistently producing REFalbe papers tend to be suddenly very valued for that. (PK, November 2014)*

The interviewee's response directs attention to how the value attached to academic work depends on context and perspective. An administrative role might afford greater visibility to University College and teaching in terms of income generation; however, it is the research publications that suddenly are acknowledged 'around the time of REF'. This captures a general trend in interviews. While it could be seen that all dimensions are equally valued, the general understanding is that it is the publications that are essential in promotions:

> *This university advertises itself as a research-intensive university, and they talk a lot about the importance of research. Research is part of the make-up of the university, etc. Occasionally, they throw the fact out that 96% of the income comes from teaching, so that's a revenue generation that's very important. Then, they go on, and they say, 'You can't be a good teacher unless you're a researcher.' So, it's very much mixed messages.*

When it comes to promotion, most research-intensive universities are just looking at research, which is the case here. (QL, January 2015)

The interviewee repeats the general understanding that 'universities are just looking at research' in promotions, in particular research-intensive universities such as University College. Field-relevant economic career capital can therefore be understood more in terms of grants or scholarships, which can be converted into other forms of capitals:

I think very important, I guess, was my research visit, like leaving my department and my home base, and then going to [a university elsewhere], because at the end I had job opportunities. (LG, December 2014)

The quote points out that it is not the grant as such, but the conversion of the grant into social career capital and career opportunities that made it relevant for career progression. Another example of the conversion of economic career capital was presented by an interviewee:

I think having access to resources to be able to do that has been important in my career. I don't know if that is a specific event but periodically, I need to get access to more money than a lot of my colleagues, and I've been able to do that in a variety of ways. One time I partnered with a company I ended up giving them like a report at the end, but they essentially paid for the data collection. I have done it in quite a variety of ways as well as applying for grants both internally whichever institution I was in as well as externally. (SL, December 2014)

This interviewee's claims point to how in a positional career context, where employment is more secure, economic career capital is not characterised by tensions between being

employed and career progression. While there are elements that could be described as encompassing 'project research', the main motivation for external funding is to ensure the data collection for academic research. This points out how the crucial part here is the conversion of economic career capital into cultural career capitals that supports individual career-making.

To summarise the discussion so far, the case of University College Business School signals how economic career capital becomes field relevant only under the conditions that it is converted into individual gains. While engagement in teaching and teaching-related administrative activities is essential for maintaining academic communities, the results of successful recruitment fairs and increases in tuition-fee-paying students are not necessarily personified and counted on individual CVs. As the division between academic labour and work is that labour does not translate into acknowledged achievements (Arendt, 1958), engagement in teaching and teaching-related activities is not necessarily valued in the same sense as research is. From a career agency perspective, this difference sends a clear message regarding what to prioritise in academic work. Although the promotion framework has been changed to include teaching and student feedback as criteria, the general understanding among interviewees was that it is only research that matters.

7.4.2 Social career capital: From being a potential candidate to being known in the system

In Section 7.2.2, I demonstrate how social career capital, in the form of international networks, can provide a strategic advantage, at the same time as social career capital in form of internal network furthers stability both at individual and subject group levels at State University Business School. These observations apply to University College Business

School. as there were references to personal factors and academic sociability that furthers trust and benign working conditions:

> *The personal factors for me are the very strong ones, actually. I want to be happy at work. You know, I want to be able to go into the work and sort of feel like I've got the colleagues and got the students. Everybody is relaxed, happy, and not really very tense. One of the things I like about here is the fact there's a campus culture going on. (PK, November 2014)*

While academics move between business schools, social career capital in the form of a supportive and relaxed working community can be seen as a reason to stay. Still, while internal networks were crucial source for support, social career capital is not necessarily confined to University College Business School. Instead, as all academics had worked elsewhere, the social networks extended across the positional career field. Accordingly, having worked together previously furthered trust amongst colleagues:

> *[M]y subject group leader he is also very benign. He knows me; we go back a long way, 20 years. He just leaves me alone to get on with it. (DH, December 2014)*

While the network of former colleagues might have emerged naturally, there are also references to conventional network practices. The relevance of networking was captured succinctly by one interviewee:

> *[Conferences] It's a way of networking. You know, that's how I got my previous job before this because I knew quite a few people there. I can find*

out where jobs were going, and they knew me, so they been interested in interviewing me. (DH, December 2014)

In a positional career context, social career capital acts more as a lubricant that furthers shifts between universities. As the interviewee points out, networks are beneficial to finding out 'where jobs were going', whereas being known by others increases the possibility of being interviewed. Social career capital can therefore be defined as holding a standing within a network of colleagues that extends across the positional career field. Thus, strategic networking activities are about gaining that standing, and they were perceived as highly relevant in the early-career stage, as the following interviewee noted:

I still go to many conferences but at the beginning, I used to go to lots and lots of conferences, presentations, so it was this idea of a network. My PhD supervisor with whom I was collaborating with. I think the other good thing was that I had a very supportive female supervisor. She was really coaching me during conferences because these events can be quite intimidating. (RN, January 2015)

One of the themes emerging in interviews was how networking in the early-career stage is ideally supported by someone who is acknowledged in the field. As the interviewee implies, the support is not only about being there together but coaching during conferences, which can be intimidating. This emphasis on support shows how academic skills are not only about technicalities, such as how to give presentations, but there is the question of how to handle intimidating conferences. Nevertheless, having a supportive mentor is not necessarily enough, but also how the mentor or supervisor is positioned within the field is relevant, as can be seen in an interviewee's response to the following question:

It sounds like you have to know the right people to indicate that you have the connections to them?

I – Yeah that's right, it's like the old boys' network coming back you know, in a different guise, but yes, you know. Now I think you are judged all the intangibles as well. Have you been to the right university, have you had the right external examiner, you know, have you had the right supervisor, all these things are going to account on. I suppose they have accounted in different ways, but I think they will be back again as measures, how you are going to succeed or not. Measures of your racehorse potential. (UQ, December 2014)

The interviewee points out how the social networks have always counted, but the reference to racehorse potential suggest a slight change in how these networks are currently contemplated. To a certain extent, these observations are confirmed in existing studies. Hadani et al. (2012) note that the preselection of candidates often relies upon non-merit criteria such as being associated with prestige networks and institutions. Therefore, all the intangibles become part of an evaluation, and rather than focusing on the person, the emphasis is placed on potential, suggesting that social career capital in the early-career stage could may align with the principles of a prestige economy (Blackmore, 2015). Prestige is not a personal characteristic but a relational one, achieved by holding something that everyone in the field esteems (Blackmore, 2015). Thus, supervisors and thesis examiners can become a source of social career capital, but only if these people are deemed desirable by others in the field.

In sum, the case of University College Business School draws attention to how the career stage shapes the definition of field-relevant career capital in a positional career context. In

the case of established academics, field-relevant social career capital can be understood in terms of having a reputable standing within social networks that extend across the field of business schools. Established academics are able to use their networks to receive knowledge about where the jobs are going, and being known by others means that one is more likely to be approached when a suitable position becomes available. This standing departs slightly from the early-career stage, in which social career capital sometimes aligns with the principles of prestige economy (Blackmore, 2015). It is not necessarily a network, as such, but how prestige is evaluated by others that makes it field-relevant career capital. Thus, while established academics might benefit from knowledge passed through networks, early-career academics have to rely on the impression of prestige in a positional career context.

7.4.3 Cultural capital: Mentoring and cultivation

As I point out in Section 7.2.3, I understand cultural career capital to arise from a set of practices and the consequences of those practices that are consequential in maintaining and reproducing an academic profession. Thus, while the PhD supervisions and mentoring, the annual promotion rounds, and the recruitment activities can be seen as practices that specifically contribute to the reproduction of academic profession, academic research, teaching, and administration are equally crucial. At College Business School, there are indications of conversion of cultural career capital in which managerial authority starts to define what an employable academic looks like. The general understanding was that it was only research that matters in promotions. Moreover, specifically the kind of research perceived to feature well in the RAE/REF was considered relevant for career progression. While the expectations stemming from managerial authority convert cultural career capital, cultural career capital provides the means to deal with those expectations. To a certain extent, this reciprocal relationship can be seen to reaffirm the one-dimensionality of cultural career

capital.

In contrast to State University Business School, where the early-career stage is defined by working on successive short-term contracts, at State University College Business those hired as lecturers or senior lecturers are offered a permanent contract under the condition that they achieve specific outcomes during a three-year probation period. Reflective of the organisation of academic work along the lines of professional authority, established academics are assigned as official mentors for early-career academics. However, while mentoring can be seen to stem from professional authority, there are also elements of managerial authority:

> *We have a formalised mentorship program so: I am so within that formal program, I have one mentee. And so, what that means is that we, I have to sign paperwork for her couple times a year saying that she is continuing, I have to look over like things like. for example, her teaching evaluation rating where she is submitting, and sort of see whether she is on track or not. And what I have done to help her or guide her to make sure that she's on track. Because at University College, there is a three-year probation period from when people first start, and after that probation period, then your contract is more formalised and permanent, I guess. So, the formal mentorship program takes place for those first three years and involves paperwork and that sort of thing. However, I see my mentorship role as going beyond that, I would say that. (SL, December 2014)*

As there are references to being on track and to teaching evaluations, it is tempting to maintain that mentoring is underpinned by managerial authority. As I note in Section 6.2.2,

the early-career stage is characterised by workload acceleration, as academics have not only become full-fledged academics but also meet the expectations stemming from managerial authority. However, the interviewee notes also that mentoring goes beyond paperwork. While managerial authority might establish a framework for certain parts of the mentorship program, this does not limit how academics approach mentoring, as the interviewee points out. That said, mentoring and its relevance for career progression directs attention to how cultural career capital, defined as knowing the rules of game, can become a means for managing the expectations stemming from managerial authority. This relationship becomes clear in the case of publishing, which is understood as the means to progress in academia:

> ***R - So, can you tell me a little bit about publishing? It sounds like there is politics going on in publishing or something that is not related to the content of the paper, so what are these forces in publishing that might, why your paper is rejected?***
>
> *I - Oh my gosh, there are so much politics that happen in the review process. In fact, that now I am a little more senior, one of the main things that I also try to do with people that I like to mentor is try to show the ménage, because it took me like 10 years to realise what a lot of mechanisms were or what the important variables were. (SL, December 2014)*

The case of publishing is indicative of how cultural career capital is not necessarily confined to professional skill sets but extends to an understanding of the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1988). As the interviewee notes, there are 'important variables' in the politics of reviewing, which can be known only through becoming familiar with the state of art in the field. From an outsider's perspective, or those who have just entered the field, not having an insider's

knowledge can make the publishing process quite unpredictable:

> *Another thing is the in a way the publication pressure, it's not that everyone should give in and adjust to it but just know, know what you have to do, and so this is always getting in your mind. Although, I think it should be okay. But it is this unpredictable, this whole thing. So the whole process of publishing is very unpredictable. I think it's a challenge to deal with that. (LG, December 2014)*

The case of publishing highlights that while individuals might take a critical stance by admitting that not 'everyone should give in' to publishing pressures, the push towards publishing cannot be escaped. Thus, cultural career capital does not fully protect academics from pressures but provides certain advantages with respect to how to respond to expectations stemming from managerial authority.

One of the reasons the protection provided by cultural career capital is somewhat limited is the RAE/REF cycle. As I note in Chapter 2, the RAE/REF is conducted every five to six years, and being submitted to the RAE/REF is often a precondition for remaining active in research (Locke, 2014). As a consequence, expectations stemming from managerial authority have a cyclical pattern:

> *I know other universities that have gone, you know, are much more tightly controlled in terms of measurements, for example. We have this research excellence framework, REF. So, we just finished one. So, the next one will be in 2020, which you know, is a long way ahead, but some universities are already telling their staff that they can only submit articles to journals*

that rank as fours, for example. You know, it's crazy, that, but it's terrible to tell, you know, young researchers. (UQ, December 2014)

While University College Business School as an organisational career context has attempted to do things differently, owing to its alignment with collegiate and professional authorities, the interviewee's remarks capture how the expectations of refable papers in four-star journals create a temporal lens through which academics rush from one evaluation to another. Thus, the comments about 'racehorse potential' and 'life being all about academia' when starting as a lecturer directs attention to how the early-career stage is characterised by accelerated workloads. As I note in Section 6.2.2. it is the expectations stemming from managerial authority that accelerates workloads, the notion of cultural career capital directs attention to how managerial authority might, in fact, underpin how an employable and promotable academic looks like. In the end, it is the managerial authority requiring refable papers and high teaching evaluations that place early-career academics in a more vulnerable position, as they are yet to acquire the know-how to manage the various expectations. In this context, it is the cultural career capital of know-how than can provide the means for survival.

Based on my analysis, I maintain that a positional career context might in fact intensify the relevance of the right kinds of cultural career capital. While University College Business School is able to do things differently because of its commitment to collegial and professional authorities, the ability to move forward in a positional career context depends to a certain extent on how well academics are perceived to meet the expectations stemming from managerial authority. Thus, those who have access to the right kinds of career capital are able to negotiate how to position themselves in the career fields, whereas those who are perceived to be lacking the requisite capital might not have the same career agency. Nevertheless, I am hesitant to derive the conclusion that managerial authority underpins

everything in a positional career context. As the interviewee quoted above noted, she sees her mentoring role as going beyond paperwork, implying that the cultivation of cultural career capital is not fully confined to managerial authority. Similarly to State University Business School, there are critical voices that question the rationality behind the expectations placed on academic work. While managerial authority can be seen to promote one-dimensionality in cultural career capital by emphasising certain aspects over others, academics do not necessarily confine themselves to this one-dimensional perspective.

7.5 Conclusion: Adventitious and positional career contexts and field-relevant career capitals

In this chapter, I set out to answer the following question: *How do academic careers emerge at State University and University College Business Schools?* At a first, State University Business School gives the impression of a career context in which academic careers seem to emerge in a rather accidental manner, whereas University College Business School seems to be characterised by clearly defined career trajectories. To a certain extent, this view captures the differences between adventitious and positional career contexts. As I point out above, career and employment opportunities in an adventitious career context emerge in an *ad hoc* manner, as academics shift from one contract to another, move to or return from parental leave, or succeed in ensuring research grants and shifting to a research role. In this context, a positional career context is characterised by clearly defined career trajectories and clearly defined career moves from one stage to another. However, as the careers of academic women include vertical moves between business schools, University College Business School can be seen as only one organisational career context amongst others.

While there are differences in how career and employment opportunities emerge in

adventitious and positional career contexts, academic careers in both contexts can be understood to be based on an accumulation model in which progression and ability remain in academia require the constant accumulation of relevant achievements and outputs (Kwiek and Antonowicz, 2015). In this context, the notion of career capital allows explorations of the conditions of career agency as it directs attention to how achievements and outputs result in social, economic, and cultural career capital. Based on my analysis, academic career capital emerges at the intersection of an underpinning career context and the organising authorities. While both State University and University College Business Schools direct attention to the labourisation of academic work and the conversion of cultural career capital, there are differences in how the consequences of both developments affect the careers of academic women.

At State University Business School, the conversion of cultural career capital can be seen to result in a somewhat one-dimensional definition of an employable academic. As pointed out above, this archetype represents someone with a lengthy list of articles published in journals ranked highly in the Publication Forum journal ranking. As the major move in an adventitious career context is to ensure permanent contract, engagement in externally funded projects results in a catch-22 situation in which being employed does not necessarily further career progression. Externally funded research projects can therefore be seen as academic labour that feeds communities and provides funds for salaries but does not necessarily accumulate in acknowledged outputs. Still, while those working on temporary contracts in an adventitious career context can be seen as most vulnerable in positioning, social career capital provides protection and stability.

In a positional career context, the conversion of cultural career capital can be seen to create differences between early-career academics and established ones. While both are exposed to

research audits and teaching evaluations, established academics can draw on their cultural career capital of know-how and social career capital of know-whom when engaging in academic activities or planning further career moves. At the same, the labourisation of academic work means that while engagement in income-generating activities is crucial for sustaining academic communities, academic labour does not result in acknowledged achievements that further career moves. Thus, the second division can be seen to emerge between those who are doing supporting the community through their academic labour and those who engage in academic work.

In the previous two chapters, the focus has been on the context and conditions of career agency. As I note in Chapter 6, the main differences between the two business schools can be captured with the terms ‘adventitious’ and ‘positional’ career contexts. Thus, in Chapter 6, I focus on the organisation of academic work and identify how the two business schools as organisational career contexts are characterised by intersecting authorities that branch out to the wider field. In Chapter 7, I attend to career capital and the conditions of career agency. Thus, the following chapter furthers the empirical analysis by exploring how the locally shared practical understandings of femininity and masculinity intertwine with the context and conditions of career agency.

CHAPTER EIGHT
GENDER AND CAREER AGENCY: A PRACTICE-BASED APPROACH

Up to this point, I have drawn on the concepts of authority and career capital to characterise State University Business School and University College Business School and to reflect on the underpinning adventitious and positional career contexts. The main differences between the adventitious and positional career contexts can be summarised with reference to how career and employment opportunities emerge and how decision-making powers regarding how academic work is organised and reward shifts within and beyond the business school. While both State University Business School and University College Business School are shaped by external factors, the latter has some agency as an organisational career context in deciding how to position and respond to these expectations. At the same time, the underpinning adventitious and positional career contexts together with authorities organising academic work shape how career capitals are defined and used at State University and University College Business Schools.

To further my discussion, I now turn my attention to gender. As I point out in Section 4.2, I understand gender as a practice based on a locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity. However, in contrast to approaches that prioritise or

understand gender as a power relation on its own (Connell, 1987; Bruni et al., 2005; Acker, 1990), I maintain that gender, as a practice, becomes consequential only in the context of other ongoing practices. Along these lines, I set out in this chapter to answer the following question: *how does the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwine with the context and conditions of career agency?* Similarly to previous chapters, I begin with the case of State University Business School. Thus, in Section 8.1, I map out a locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity at State University Business School, after which I turn my attention to the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity at University College Business School in Section 8.2. I conclude this chapter in Section 8.3.

8.1 State University Business School: The ideals of gender neutrality and active femininity

While the focus has not been explicitly on gender in the previous chapters, I have made occasional references to gender. In Chapter 6, I stress how the AWT, based on bureaucratic authority, allows for the combination of work with childcare responsibilities, whereas the discussion in Chapter 7 notes how parental leaves interweave as part of an adventitious career context. Drawing on these observations, it is clear that caring and caring responsibilities have a role in the careers of academic women at State University Business School. However, rather than being confined to caring, the following discussion explores how the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwines with the context and conditions of career agency at State University Business School. Based on my analysis, gender practices at State University Business School

revolve around maintaining the ideals of gender neutrality while describing femininity as an active stance rather than as a rejected one.

To start with, it is relevant to point out that State University Business School, as an organisational context, does not initially seem to comprise a coherent field of practices. As one interviewee reflected, regarding how State University Business School is managed,

> *On the surface, it looks like we are gender neutral. But of course, there are hidden structures, maybe not across the whole business schools, but [that] in different subject groups and departments are different. There are those who are very patriarchal and almost chauvinists. Women are merely assistants, doing teaching while hard-core research activities are reserved for men. We also have very successful female professors, who have been able to progress. And there have always been those [successful women professors] as well who have been able to progress. So that there are those as well in this house. And then there is also, how women with families, how they have to because the rules are the same for everyone, so they have to be creative, to get things organised. For example, when the meetings are held early in the morning or evening. (RV, March 2015)*

As I emphasise in previous chapters, State University Business School as an adventitious career context is characterised by diversification in how academic work is organised. To

a certain extent this diversity contributes to how State University Business School does not necessarily constitute a coherent field in terms of gender and gendering practices (Martin, 2003). As the interviewee has implied, there are indications of the gendered division of academic work into 'soft' teaching and 'hard-core' research in some contexts, and how seemingly gender-neutral rules might disadvantage those with caring responsibilities. Gender practices can therefore be seen to extend from the gendered division of labour to underpinning structures that disadvantage those with caring responsibilities. However, the situation is not necessarily so simple, as there have always been successful women professors as well.

The example of successful women professors captures, on the one hand, how gender relations are in a constant flux, and on the other hand, how the differences between women and men are managed or undermined, by drawing attention to contradictory observations or by providing alternative explanations. One of the ways to maintain the ideals of gender neutrality is through the individualisation or localisation of improper gender attitudes to one-off chauvinists or certain departments or subject groups, as suggested above. Such individualisation was expressed in the interviews by an established academic, who reflected on how attitudes toward women have changed over time:

> *It is like, there are always one-off chauvinists everywhere. But you find them, and it is nothing really. But it has to be said, that you find them significantly fewer [now] than back then when I started my academic career. You could be faced [with comments likes] 'What are you girls*

> *doing here, you cannot handle these things' (laughter). So, someone really said these things, but not anymore. Maybe they still have these ideas, but it is not politically correct to express these attitudes anymore. (SY, March 2015)*

The interviewee's observation directs attention to how attitudes towards women have changed over time. As the interviewee notes, men could previously comment openly on women's capabilities. In this sense, there has been a change, according to the interviewee. To a certain extent, the changes in attitudes can be seen to reflect the feminisation of academic research. In contrast to the situation in the 1980s, when women's engagement with research decreased after their MA degree (Luukkonen-Gronow, 1987), at the time of interviews in 2015, 52% of researchers and 60% of doctoral students were women at State University (Vipunen, 2015a; 2015b). This proportion is above the national average of 44% of researchers and 53% of doctoral students in the same year (Vipunen, 2015a; 2015b). This trend is captured in the interviewees' careers; all of them had worked as researchers for an externally funded project or as a research assistant at some point.

One of the factors understood to further the ideals of gender neutrality is gender-neutral language. In practical terms, the third pronoun in Finnish is a gender-neutral *hän*. The naturalness of gender-neutral language is such that I noticed only when I started to work with interview transcripts that I had never asked whether the professor, teacher in charge, or line-manager was a man or a woman; consequently, the third person's gender could be deduced only from the context of a discussion. One interviewee's response to a question about internationalisation captured this respective concealment of gender and implication

through context:

> ***R - Is it possible for a woman to do this kind of international…***
>
> *I – It is difficult for everyone—if you have a child and a man so you cannot move abroad easily. I know someone, who did it, took the whole family with, two girls from school, and went abroad. So, it is possible. The man had to look for another job, follow to research exchange to take care of the children. (KO, March 2015)*

The excerpt shows how gender is easily disguised in references to a third person, such as 'I knew someone who' followed by description of what the person did without explicating whether this someone was a male or female. At the moment of an interview, I did not pay attention to how the third person's gender could be hidden in the discussion. Only when I read the transcript did I realise that I had deduced the gender based on my question, in which I explicitly asked about women and the heteronormative understanding of relationships, and owing to the statement 'the man had to find', I inferred that the interviewee referred to a woman.

While the gender-neutral *hän* can be seen as a linguistic particularity, in the context of State University Business School the gender-neutral language concurs with an action-focused perception of gender, by which I mean that femininity and masculinity are often described in terms of actions taken. As such, some interviewees referred to the perceived differences in how women and men cooperate or take part in mundane tasks that need to be done to keep the subject groups running. One interviewee recalled how she and her

colleague from another country had noticed a similar phenomenon within their research groups:

> *[..] We had noticed both the same difference, how tasks tend to attach to someone along gendered lines within the research groups. That somehow, it was recognisable that women, they often tend to do more and participate in joint activities. There was this case; a male had been given the responsibility to organise seminars. And it was like, you had to go after him and ask that when is the next seminar going to take place. And it made you think that if you have to go after him and ask all the time, so wouldn't it just be easier to organise on your own. But you have to resist it because you cannot start to take over other's responsibilities. Because then he can just drift into his little world and focus solely on research. And others accept it because 'well, he just doesn't remember these things; he just isn't so good at organising'. And it's someone else, usually a woman, that walks after him and fixes things up. (IM, March 2015)*

This quote draws attention to the gendered division of work and how certain 'tasks tend to attach' based on gender. In this case, the gendered division emerges along the 'absent-minded' male position and the surrounding active and cooperative femininity. Reflective of the active framing of femininity, the interviewee notes how the solution is to resist the attempt to correct the situation, because it would allow only the absent-minded and unpractical person to focus on his research. However, another perspective on agency was

expressed as follows:

> *[..] We were talking about difficult things, like should we save or propose a new visionary strategy and demand more money. All the comments were made by men. Women, in that case, excluded themselves, whereas men were more eager to express their opinions. I don't know this university system, and I don't feel like I know the context so well, that I would understand what all moving parts really were, so I was frustrated. I think that the person that has the courage and vision should speak; there is no need to lift women up, but I just noticed that none of the women stood up, either. (YJ, March 2015)*

These remarks capture the tensions between the ideals of gender neutrality and who acts; at the same time, the gender differences are neutralised by the point that it should not be women, as such, but those with 'vision' that are elevated. Similarly, Korvajärvi (1998) observes that gender practices in work organisations in the Finnish context revolve around remedial work that allows for the hiding of gender hierarchies. However, another interpretation emerges when the focus is on Finnish discussion culture in which one refrains from talking 'in new or in sensitive situations' (Berry et al., 2004: 273). Staying quiet is thus a rather Finnish approach to the situation in which one feels that she cannot engage in a meaningful manner. Thus, the emphasis on persons with courage and vision may mediate gender hierarchies between perceived quiet women and talkative men. However, it also directs attention to agency in Finnish discussion culture in which being quiet is not necessarily a passive stance (Berry et al. 2004), but is, for example,

characterised by the frustration of not knowing all the parts of an argument that are relevant to the discussed issued, as the interviewee points out.

The most notable example of the active framing of femininity is how caring responsibilities are approached. The majority of the interviewees (14) mentioned children and caring responsibilities in the interviews. The tendency is to emphasise that research, despite being described as all-encompassing work, allows women to combine child-caring responsibilities with work life. This emphasis was exhibited by one interviewee in response to a question about what advice the interviewee would give a young woman contemplating academic careers:

> *R – So, if you had to give a piece of advice for a young woman who thinks about going for an academic career, what kind of advice would you give?*
>
> *I – I would say, go for it. I think the best side in this is the family, although it is said that this is an all-encompassing work and you carry your research to home and so on, but on the other hand, this allows taking the family into consideration. Because you can do this everywhere, it is more about your mind set. If you are the kind of person who can read articles sitting on your sofa while your children are playing, then this suits you well. But if you require a quiet researcher sanctum, maybe not. But in the end, this is quite flexible, and thus combining family with this is convenient, so that I would recommend this to a mother with young children. (HL, March 2015)*

This comment captures a general trend in the interviews: the framing of academic research as an ideal line of work for women with young children, and the active framing of femininity in which the emphasis is on managing it. While my observations can be seen as anecdotal because of the small sample size, the perception of university as a family-friendly working environment is confirmed in Nikunen (2012); however, Nikunen (2012) also identifies the limitations of this perception as regards career continuity. However, temporal and spatial flexibility does not suggest that family and work responsibilities can be always combined smoothly, as noted by the following interviewee:

> *It can be done in this kind of flexible job, when the working hours are so flexible, and where the work can be done. But it is flexible to a certain point; there are all the urgent and necessary ones, and all the deadlines and all the hurdles of finalising the doctoral thesis. Only afterwards you wonder about how you managed it all. (NS, March 2015)*

While academic work is described as flexible, and the emphasis on managing it all, the interviewee affirms that some deadlines cannot be missed. Some interviewees described, for example, how pregnancies, thesis submissions, and doctoral defences amount to a period during which events occur in rapid succession. Although the hurdles of thesis submissions and PhD defences relate most directly to the early-career stage at University College Business School, it is relevant to point out that the hurdles in the case of State University Business School surface as women are juggling both private and work lives.

In the Finnish language, there is a term, *ruuhkavuodet*, which can be roughly translated, 'the rush years'. While *ruuhkavuodet* is not an academic concept with a clear definition, it is used in public debates to capture a specific time period during which women are faced with multiple expectations, from childcare to maintaining a relationship to building a career and progressing in it (Kaartti and Korvela, 2014). While none of my interviewees used the term *ruuhkavuodet*, they did talk about writing during the night, children being picked up late from the nursery, and carrying work home which could not be completed anyway. Reflective of the active framing of femininity, the emphasis is on managing all aspects of one's life, and doing so is not necessarily an ideal situation for academics. While academic work can be carried home and done during the evening, this possibility can produce a situation in which women find themselves overwhelmed when trying to balance between caring responsibilities and academic work. Thus, issues brough up in interviews was the need for finding way how to balance between work and caring responsibilities.

Aside from temporal tensions, there is the accumulative dimension. As career progression requires constant accumulation of relevant outputs and achievements, the gaps in publication lists reflect how competent one is perceived to be:

> *I think it is quite gender neutral in our subject groups, but when you start to contemplate how they are recruiting people. I, for example, have been a few times on maternity leave; with the last one, I was also on childminding allowance. So you get a feeling that although I am equally experienced as the man sitting in the next-door office, because*

> *I was on maternity leave for a year, and I didn't write any papers while being home with my children, so is it right that I am kind of less experienced because I have been with my children. (ST, March 2015)*

The quote captures how the immediate subject group or the department was often described in gender-neutral terms. That said, the interviewee's observation of how she could be seen as less experienced because she stayed home with her children directs attention to the underpinning tensions at State University Business School. While the emphasis is on flexibility and the ability to combine work with childcare, as Nikunen (2012) notes, the family-friendly façade starts to crack when one contemplates career continuity. As the interviewee quoted in the beginning of this section notes, the rules are the same for everyone. Thus, if it is the number of publications that matters, those who did not stay home will be considered more competent because of their longer publication lists.

In all, State University Business School draws attention to how, rather than women being faced with direct discrimination, cracks in gender-neutral ideals emerge in an accumulative manner in which previous actions may erect barriers that restrict career agency. However, interpreting such barriers as reflective of favouritism towards masculinity does not account for how the context and conditions of career agency intertwine with the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity. On the individual level, how gender neutrality is managed and how the active framing of femininity, combined with the understanding of academic freedom as temporal and spatial work flexibility, frame academic work as suitable for women with young families.

As an organisational career context, bureaucratic authority provides a legitimate reason for staying home for up to three years. However, as the conversion of cultural career capital results in a somewhat one-dimensional definition of the employable academic, it is not only those who have stayed at home, but also those working on externally funded research projects, who are disadvantaged as regards securing a permanent contract. It is not necessarily the ability to manage it, or even a masculine kind of agency, but having the right kind of accumulation of skills and outcomes that makes a difference in an adventitious career context.

8.2 University College Business School: The competitive masculinity and the feminine–masculine dichotomy

Based on my analysis, I maintain that in contrast to State University Business School, characterised by the ideals of gender neutrality, University College Business School is representative of a case in which the career context is characterised by a feminine–masculine dichotomy. Nevertheless, the female–male dichotomy is neither rigid nor tied to certain bodies. Instead, the feminine–masculine division emerges from engaging with activities assigned as feminine or masculine, exhibiting attitudes, or being able to display the kind of agency attached to a certain kind of masculinity (Nentwich and Kelan, 2014). Hence, individuals can exhibit both feminine and masculine characteristics through their actions and attitudes. However, while the division is not rigid, it is not mediated by remedial work, as is done at State University Business School. Thus, while University College has taken actions to promote women and their careers, the division is expressed through diversely, from the gender division of academic work to inter-gender encounters

and the ideals placed applied to academic work, as I point out in the following discussion.

When compared with State University Business School, the division between femininity and masculinity University College Business School is more prevalent. While none of the interviewees referred to overt discrimination at University College Business School, they referenced tensions in certain intra-gender encounters, which seemed to intertwine with academic hierarchies. One interviewee noted how relations with certain male colleagues became more awkward as she progressed to a more senior role. Another interviewee describes a meeting with the Central Academic Administration in which the organising party engaged with her male colleagues but ignored her. Although the reference in the latter case is made to the Central Administration rather than to Business School, they concur with the existing research affirms that universities in the UK tend to revolve around masculine presentations and ideals (Fotaki, 2013; Fisher, 2007; Priola, 2007). Despite this affirmation, the situation is more nuanced, since being a woman, as such, does not prevent an individual from progressing in academia:

> *[W]hen I think of the Business School, I can think of also, there are other full professors who are women, so there doesn't seem to be a barrier like, 'oh women only get to reader and then they're somehow not able to ever make it further up than that'. That does not seem to be the case. I will say though, so the other female professor [in our subject group] and me, we were both hired from elsewhere as professors. So, what I am trying to say here, so it may be different if you are going up through the process within the university. There could possibly be—I*

> *haven't observed it—there could possibly be some sort of glass ceiling to go up through the internal process. But certainly, with regards to hiring women in from outside at the highest level, that seems to be that there is no problem in that. (SL, December 2014)*

In a positional career context, where the assumption is that academics move from one position to another, the ability to move forward forms a way to measure how well women and men perform in a certain career context. As the interviewee points out, University College Business School had hired women in senior roles, indicating that women were not fully excluded from certain roles. However, having hired a woman to a specific role does not necessarily entail a shift towards gender neutrality. As I discuss in Section 6.2.1 in the context of collegiate authority, interviewees made reference to promotions and how they had a murky history. As I conclude in Chapter 6, while collegiate authority could be seen to promote inclusion within University College Business School, this act did not translate into transparency and inclusion across University College. Thus, to address the situation, University College had put forward programmes aimed directly at women:

> *There isn't any evidence that women are deterred from applying, nor that they 'don't' apply. Some do apply later than men, but there are plenty now that are applying before they have the full set of things, which is 'what' the men do. And yet many of them are succeeding now, and we've got lots more mentoring and courses in place. We've got internal management training and trying to get a balance of women and men. It is better, but not brilliant. (KF, January 2015)*

While it could be tempting to draw on Husu (2001) in claiming that University College's approach aims to fix the women, I maintain that this interpretation would not be fair to the situation at University College. While the general understanding was that it was only research that mattered in promotion, the promotion framework (summarised in Appedix 7) currently includes student feedback as a criterion, and it accommodates a pathway for teaching-focused academics. Thus, University College can be framed as an organisational context that aims to change how a promotable academic is perceived.

Still, while University College Business School exemplifies a career context which has taken an active stance in promoting women, this status does not mean that the underpinning femininity–masculinity division is mended. On the contrary, the underpinning feminine–masculine division remains intact, and the division between femininity and masculinity is variously communicated. As noted above, one of the expressions of feminine and masculine division is the gendered division of academic work, in which feminine teaching is contrasted with masculine research:

> *So, I think teaching has become much feminised in universities; research is still fairly masculine. However, there are some women who are professors here. So, they have been some, I don't know what the gender balance is here. And so, the institution may not realise that it is discriminatory, but it is. So, it's not that individuals are discriminating against women; it's just that nobody can see that the discrimination exists because they just think research is really important and teaching isn't important, without reflecting on the fact that actually at research*

is more men and teaching is more women. They just don't realise that, so they haven't really, really reflected on that. (DH, December 2014)

The case of the gender division of labour associates the differences in how diverse dimensions of academic work are evaluated with gender hierarchies. This observation is not specific to University College Business School; the interviewees' comments on feminised teaching and masculine research concur with the existing research that draws attention to the gendered division of academic work (Morley, 2005; 2003). Reflective of the organisation of academic work at University College, another interviewee pointed out how women tend to take roles in teaching and learning leadership, while men are more likely to be in research leadership. Thus, the division between feminine teaching and masculine research is not confined to subject groups but is perceived to extend across University College. Another expression of how academic work and gender intertwine can be found in the expectations placed on academic work, as pointed out by an interviewee who reflected on management at University College:

Well, it's gender-blind in a sense that the criteria are made by males, and the ideal subjects are obviously male subjects. We need to be careful not to essentialise women and men; you can have very good masculine women. I don't know if this is clear, but I think we need to be careful in saying that all the men have a masculine attitude in academia and all the females have a feminine attitude. (RN, January 2015)

As with the gendered division of labour, gender neutrality is apparent at first glance, but

on a closer look, the interviewee maintains that they are based on male subject. Still, the interviewee reflects the current understanding of gender as a social construction instead of an essential feature internalised during early childhood (Risman and Davis, 2013). Although the male subject might form an implicit template subject for gender neutrality, gender is not tied to certain bodies. Instead, it is certain gender representations that are detrimental. This dynamic becomes in the same interviewee's elaboration on the REF submission, pointing out how it concurs with masculine ideals of competitive individualism:

> *In the previous REF, for example, you were discouraged from publishing with people in the same department because one of the two people could claim the output. So to me, that means to destroy it, collegiality, because everybody has to look outside the institution to find co-authors, a research partner. That means that, especially for young academics who need help, and they can't go to the big professor and say, 'Do you want to write the paper with me?' because they know it's a waste of time. They can't claim the output for the REF. So that, to me, reinforced the hierarchy, and that's why I'm saying it's really masculine in a way because it doesn't encourage any formal collegiality in research. (RN, January 2015)*

The interviewee directs attention to how the REF submission is based on a specific formulation of agency often associated with a specific formulation of masculinity. Nevertheless, this association does not mean that male-centeredness or masculine culture

is agreeable to with men. The interviewees, in fact, referenced supportive men, supervisors, mentors, line-managers, partners, and former or current colleagues. Thus, rather than attaching masculine culture to men and their behaviours, it can be summarised as a preference for those who can exhibit competitive individualism. Thus, there emerges an association between this formulation of masculinity emphasising individualism and how the RAE/REF is organised. As the interviewee notes, as co-authoring papers with colleagues in the same department does not result in refable outputs for everyone, collegiality within institutions is destroyed. This destruction has consequences at an individual level. The early-career stage can be considered to require a 'masculine' kind of agency:

> *So, my children were already grown up, so I didn't have you know the normal; I could be more like a man actually. I mean, I didn't have the normal family. I had a little bit, yes, my children were still in their teens, but they were pretty soon you know, going to university. So, I was able to I think to coordinate the whole homework balance because they weren't young babies. (UQ, December 2014)*

This interviewee emphasised that competitive individualism shapes how academic women organise their private lives. Rather than attempting to combine research with having young children, those interviewees who had children often started as teaching-focused academics or worked elsewhere and moved to research when their caring responsibilities had changed. This is not to say that women choose always between children and doing research; there were references to women had children while working

on a research and teaching contract. However, the situation at University College Business School sharply contrasted with that of State University Business School, where research-centred work was perceived as suitable for women with young families.

The situation at University College Business School spotlights how notions such as academic excellence and meritocracy are represented as gender neutral, but in fact require resources and agency often associated with masculinity (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012a; Van den Brink, 2010). However, I maintain that this interpretation has certain caveats. It does not account for how the expectations placed on academic research might vary depending on how academics are placed within the field. As already identified, the early career is characterised by accelerated expectations requiring a masculine kind of agency, another point that the case of University College Business School raises relates to women in academic leadership roles. As the organisation of University College draws on committees and administrative and academic leadership posts, women in higher positions are considered to have the capability to support other women:

> *We got two women who are very nice and supportive at the top as well. And they try to do a lot for other women, whereas a lot of women are like Margaret Thatcher. Once they get to the top, they just become, they adopt the masculine culture, and these two particular women try to fight against that. So you know, again, I think it's better than in a lot of places. (UQ, December 2014)*

Along with other excerpts, the above interview excerpt captures how the gender is not

necessarily tied to bodies but to certain attitudes and behaviours. Again, the division is made between co-operative stances versus competitive masculinity. In this context, Margaret Thatcher, who utilised gender in her political manoeuvrings but failed to address or further the women's issues (Pilcher, 1995), provides a negative example of a woman who adapted to masculine culture when moving to a leadership role. Thus, merely having women in leadership roles might not be helpful, as such. Mavin and Grandy (2016), in fact, note that although women nowadays occupy leadership roles, they still find themselves marginalised, because of the ideals of masculinity. Building on this observation, those who have made it to the top are expected to retain supportive attitudes towards other women, since they will otherwise not promote change.

The case of University College Business School directs attention to how academic women have to balance and shift between different gender representations during the course of a career. On the one hand, the early-career stage requires a masculine kind of agency, as certain expectations stem from managerial authority. On the other hand, when being established and in particular at the top, they should resist competitive masculinity. This is not to prescribe how women should approach gender and careers, but to recognise that expectations around agency, gender, and career stages fluctuate. The case of University College Business School highlights how organisational actions might help to manage the thin line between individualised and competitive masculinity and cooperative stances. As I note in Chapter 6, owing to collegiate and professional authorities, University College Business School as an organisational career context can take contradictory stance in relation to certain practices. However, the contradictory stances and practices supporting inclusion can also promote mental change:

> *It's also the institution: How easy does it make for women? That's why I picked my role models. They are part-time and becoming a professor on that payslip. I think that's great. A bit more flexibility, which I think, it's not much flexibility practically, but also on the mental side flexible. We think about leadership and management, and that would mean working crazy hours, when in fact you can be leader four days in a week. (JE November, 2014)*

Organisational actions perceived to contradict competitive and individualist masculinity can inspire others by showing that there are other possible approaches to academic work. While this inspiration might not create immediate results, it gives one, as the interviewee points out, the mental flexibility to think differently.

The case of University College Business School reminds that it is not masculinity but a specific formulation of masculinity that is detrimental. The detrimental form of masculinity can be summarised as a stance that favours competition and individualism over cooperation and collegiality. For the career agency perspective, the competitive individualistic masculinity requires carelessness and the ability to immerse oneself in academic work. While the case of University College Business School could be seen to confirm that the exclusion of women draws on the hierarchically organised feminine–masculine dichotomy (Le Feuvre, 2009), I rather emphasise how gender practices become meaningful and consequential only in conjunction with other ongoing practices. In the end, the very same practices that can be understood to result in masculinised fields also create differences amongst academic women (Jönsas, 2019).

From a career agency perspective, University College Business School highlights how the relationship between the gender practices, context, and conditions of career agency is not necessarily straightforward. University College, in fact, attempts to even out gender differences by providing training to women in academic leadership, whereas the business school itself has retained a collegiate and transparent ethos. Nevertheless, while there are opportunities to do things differently, the ability to move forward in a positional career context can be understood to be affected by the labourisation of academic work and the conversion of cultural career capital in accordance with managerial authority. Instead of clustering all women together and placing them disadvantageously, there are divisions between those who are in a teaching-focused career trajectory and those in teaching and research contracts, as well as between early-career and established academics. Thus, from a career agency perspective, gender is only one practice amongst others that shape the conditions of career agency.

8.3 Conclusion: The locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity and academic career agency

In this final empirical chapter, I set out to explore how the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwine with the context and conditions of career agency. Based on my analysis, the main difference in locally shared practical understandings of femininity and masculinity at State University Business School and University College Business School regard how gender differences are managed and how the division between femininity and masculinity is understood. State University Business School is characterised by an emphasis on gender neutrality, while femininity is described

as an active stance rather than a rejected one, whereas the shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity at University College Business School seems to draw on a dichotomous understanding of gender. Still, the feminine–masculine division at University College Business School is not tied to bodies or to perceived gender but emerges from engagement with activities assigned as feminine or masculine and exhibiting exclusive attitudes and behaviours. In this context, the opposite pole for femininity can be described as what Anderson (2009) labels 'orthodox masculinity' based on hegemonic oppression.

From a career agency perspective, the differences in gender practices reflect how engagement in academic work and gender practices become consequential. At State University Business School, academic research is described as a suitable line of work for women with young families. This stance is furthered by the active framing of femininity, which stresses management of all aspects of life, and the formulation of academic freedom, which emphasises temporal and spatial flexibility. In this context, parental leaves are constituent of the adventitious career context. Thus, rather than being overtly excluded, the consequences of maternity and parental leaves on career progression are cumulative. However, framing this as reflective of favouritism towards agency associated with masculinity would not acknowledge how the labourisation of academic work places also those trapped in a project treadmill in disadvantageously in open call recruitments

University College Business School can be described as a career context in which certain positions are more exposed to the feminine–masculine division. As I point in Section 8.2 the early-career stage is understood to require a competitive, individualistic, masculine

type of agency, whereas those in academic leadership roles should ideally reject the masculine parade and support other women. It would thus be tempting to conclude that academic women's career agency is indeed measured against the competitive orthodox masculinity (Anderson, 2009). However, this interpretation would not account for how University College promotes women's careers by providing training and leadership programmes, as well as how the promotion framework has changed to include teaching and student feedback as criteria. At the same time, the division amongst academic women emerges from the labourisation of academic work and the conversion of cultural career capital in accordance with managerial authority. Hence, while these divisions can be described using gendered language, gender is only one practice among others that shapes the conditions of career agency.

In this and the previous two chapters, I discuss the differences between State University and University College Business Schools as organisational career contexts. As I note in Chapter 6, the discussion is divided into three parts starting from the organisation of academic work, after which attention is first given to career moves and career capitals, and then to gender. Along these lines, each chapter sheds light on a specific dimension of career agency. Having now discussed my empirical findings, I return to my research questions and discuss the relevance of my research inquiry in the following chapter.

CHAPTER NINE
DRIFTS, SHIFTS, AND CAREER LADDERS: THE CONTEXT AND CONDITIONS OF CAREER AGENCY AND GENDER

As I point out in Chapter 6, one of the themes that underpins my discussion is the differences between adventitious and positional career contexts. Based on my analysis, I define State University Business School as an adventitious career context whereas University College Business School can be categorised as a positional career context. The differences between these two can be captured by how career and employment opportunities emerge, how the decision-making powers shift within and beyond the Business School, and how the organisational career context is linked with the wider field. Thus, the empirical analysis starts by mapping out the organisational career contexts drawing on the notion of authority, after which I turn my attention to the careers of academic women and how engagement in academic work accumulates into career capital at State University and University College Business Schools. Finally, the analysis ends in Chapter 8, which discusses how the locally shared practical understanding of

femininity and masculinity intertwines with the context and conditions of career agency at State University Business School and University College Business School.

To finalise the discussion, I now turn my attention to the research question and the relevance of this research. In this chapter, I maintain that this research contributes by providing a new conceptual framework to address career agency in conjunction with gender analysis and showing how the tenets of practice-based studies can be applied to career research. This research, therefore, responds to the calls for a contextual turn in career research (Inkson et al., 2012; Gunz et al., 2011; Tams and Arthur, 2010). Thus, I start by answering the research question in Section 9.1, whereas in Section 9.2, I summarise the discussions set out in Chapters 2 and 3 and I discuss how my conceptual framework addresses the issues identified in the existing approaches. Section 9.2.1 focuses on the notions of adventitious and positional career contexts, 9.2.2 discusses the concept of authority, and 9.2.3 career capital, while 9.2.4 finalises the discussion by linking the conceptualisation of gender used in this research with the existing formulations. In Section 9.3, I conclude this chapter.

9.1 Answering the research questions

In the first chapter, I point out how the number of women academics has increased in academia (HEFCE, 2017; Statistics Finland, 2016; Husu, 2000; Bagilhole, 1993a), at the same time there has been indications of increasing diversification and polarisation amongst academics (Locke et al., 2016; Lund, 2015; Locke, 2014; Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013; Strike, 2010). Thus, this research takes the careers of academic women at State

University Business School located in Finland, and University College Business School based in England, as cases to explore how to conceptualise the context and conditions of career agency in research analysis. This research addresses the following main question:

How do the careers of academic women emerge and sustained at State University Business School and University College Business School?

Based on my analysis, I have labelled State University Business School as an adventitious career context whereas I characterise University College Business School as a positional career context. The differences between an adventitious and positional career context can be summarised in how career trajectories emerge. While academic careers in both business schools are based on a cumulative model in which career progression is based on the constant accumulation of relevant outputs and achievements (Kwiek and Antonowicz, 2015), employment and career opportunities occur in an *ad hoc* manner an adventitious organisational career context. Thus, careers at State University Business School are more likely constituted by shifts from one contract to another, and they do not necessarily accumulate into clearly defined ascending trajectories. Instead, the careers of academic women seem somewhat accidental. The women drifted into academia by being hired to a temporary role, after which they often worked on multiple fix-term contracts. Thus, one of the major moves in an adventitious career context is securing a permanent contract that can be achieved through permatisation, in which a previously temporary position becomes a permanent one, or applying directly for a permanent position.

In contrast to an adventitious career context, positional career context is characterised by

clearly defined ascending career trajectories that include both vertical shifts across the field of Business Schools. In this context, academics are hired to a specific role, and the understanding is that academics move forward either within University College Business School or elsewhere within their assigned career trajectory. As individual careers can extend across the field of Business Schools, University College Business School can be understood as one organisational career context amongst others. The career stage is often associated with academic rank. Thus, academic careers can be described as a ladder in which academic ranks follow each other, and the assumption is that academics move from one ladder to another. This assumption sets the positional career context apart from an adventitious one. While academic positions can be organised in a hierarchical order at State University Business School, the actual careers do not necessarily result in a movement from one stage to another.

With regard to sustaining academic careers, one of the observations this research presents is the influence of the wider field on the organisational career contexts and the careers of academic women. Based on my analysis, external factors such as changes in university funding or in the legislative framework can have a direct effect on the conditions of career agency in an adventitious career context. This is not to say that academics are sheltered from external expectations in a positional career context. While a positional career context has some agency as an organisational career setting in deciding how to respond to external influences such as research and teaching excellence frameworks, the accumulation of diverse expectations creates differences amongst academics. Moreover, in both cases, there are indications of the labourisation of academic work and the conversion of cultural career capital. While the latter refers to the situation in which

engagement in income-generating activities does not necessarily further career-making, the latter directs attention to a subtle shift in how expectations placed on academic work start to define the characteristics of employable or promotable academics. In other words, I refer to how the tendency is to focus on research publications whereas other dimensions of academic work, such as teaching and administration, are perceived as less relevant in promotions or recruitments. This communicates a clear message regarding how academic careers should be approached.

In terms of gender, the main differences between State University Business School and University College Business School are how gender differences are managed and how femininity is placed in relation to masculinity. As the emphasis is on gender neutrality at State University Business School, the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity revolves around managing and mending gender differences while describing femininity as an active stance. At University College Business School, femininity and masculinity are perceived more in dichotomous terms. Thus, I refer to how the division between femininity and masculinity is expressed through characteristics and attitudes; in this context, the specific framing of masculinity as a competitive and individualist stance is contrasted with other positions. Thus, it is not masculinity as such but the specific formulation of it that is perceived detrimental to cooperation and inclusion.

As I discuss in more detail in third sub-questions, the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity can be seen to shape how academic work is perceived to be compatible with caring responsibilities. The general understanding at

State University Business School is that academic research provides an ideal line of work for women with young families. This stance is supported further with the organisation of academic work that requires presence only during certain hours and active framing of femininity that emphasises managing it all. That said, while academic work features favourably in relation to other lines of work that require presence during office hours, this stance does not necessarily hold with regard to career security. However, it is not necessarily caring responsibilities but also the labourisation of academic work that can be problematic in ensuring career continuity.

While the careers of academic women at University College Business School could be seen as reflective of academia favouring masculinity, my analysis shows women's positioning in relation to the competitive masculinity varies depending on how they are positioned within the organisational career context. The early-career stage can be seen as a position where masculine type agency is the beneficiary, whereas those in academic leadership roles are sometimes faced with additional gender-related expectations. As I note in Section 8.3, women in academic leadership roles are expected to support other women. Thus, the consequences of individualistic formulation of masculinity on academic women depend on how they are positioned within the business school.

As this research proposes a conceptual framework that places career agency at the intersection of the organisation of academic work, the expectations placed on academic work, and the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity, the following three sub-questions direct attention to each of these dimensions. Thus, the first sub-question focuses on the organisation of academic work.

1. How does the organisation of academic work define State University Business School and University College Business School as organisational career contexts?

To discuss how the organisation of academic work occurs at the two business schools, I draw on the notion of authority. As a conceptual tool, I understand authorities as emerging from a set of practices based on 'broad patterns of legitimate power' (Clark, 1986: 107) that results in relationships that shape action and the capabilities to act (Watson, 2017). Thus, authority provides the legitimation for how academics are placed and place themselves in certain relationships with each other and their activities.

In broad terms, the authorities can be divided roughly into two categories, those that underpin the organisation and administration of academic work and those that communicate the external expectations placed on academic activities. Building on this division, bureaucratic authority creates a procedural frame to certain dimensions in professorial authority, which revolves around the organisation of academic work, whereas managerial authority communicates what is valued and expected from academic work at State University Business School. At University College Business School, collegiate authority places academics in relation to collective administration over various dimensions in academic work, whereas professional authority ensures that the organisation of academic work is based on professional consideration. Similar to State University Business School, managerial authority attempts to enhance certain dimensions within academic work and orient academic practices in such a way that they contribute to the success of business school.

To a certain extent, authorities reflect the historical differences. Professorial authority builds on the German tradition that places professors in charge of their respective subject groups (Välimaa, 2001b), whereas bureaucratic authority emerges from a legislative framework that has its roots in the former centrally managed higher education sector (Tirronen and Nokkala, 2009; Hölttä and Rekilä, 2003). For example, the universities salary system was introduced as a part of a wider policy shift attempting to enhance efficiency in the public service sector (Kallio et al., 2016). Similarly, collegiate and professional authorities at University College Business School reflect the idea of a community of self-governing scholars, which initially underpinned university governance in England (Farnham, 1999). In this context, managerial authority can be described as a newer layer of practices as it derives its legitimation from attempts to steer and organise academic work in such a manner that the business school in question features favourably in research and teaching audits or university funding formulas.

From a career agency perspective, the notion of authority directs attention to two interrelated points; how the decision-making powers regard how academic work is organised and rewarded shifts within and beyond the organisational career context, and how the business schools as organisational career contexts can manoeuvre in relation to external expectations. While bureaucratic authority at State University Business School ensures that decisions regarding how academic work is organised are made within the subject groups, the USS, also based on bureaucratic authority, shifts the decision-making powers in how academic work is rewarded to the Central Administration. Thus, what occurs in subject groups is not necessarily acknowledged in the USS. At the same time, while collegiate and professional authorities ensure that decisions regarding the

organisation of academic work are transparent and based on professional consideration within University College Business School, the case of promotions points out how collegiate and professional authorities can become tools for exclusion. While promotion committees draw on collegiate and professional authorities, as the decisions are made in promotion committees by a group of equal peers based on their professional consideration, there were references to lack of transparency.

As I point out above, the differences between State University Business School and University College Business School can be summarised by using the notions of adventitious and positional organisational career context. When the focus is on authorities, the differences between adventitious and positional career contexts can be captured in the way in which academics are exposed to external expectations. While State University Business School as an adventitious organisational career context does not necessarily have the agency to form points of resistance, the notion of academic freedom has remained strong. As bureaucratic and professorial authority underpins how academic work is organised and administered at State University Business School, they can be seen to support academic freedom. While the decision-making powers have been centralised to certain roles, this has not resulted in an organisational context in which academics are dictated to in relation to how they should execute their daily activities. Thus, there are spaces for self-determination and flexibility.

While the University Business School College as an organisational career context might adopt contradictory stances and promote inclusion and transparency in how academic work is organised, this does not necessarily result in a career context where academics

are sheltered from external expectations. As I point out in Chapter 6, those responsible for the administration of academic work have to deal with the contradictions between professional and managerial authority. While the former draws on professional discretion and the latter tends to draw on units or numeric scores. Thus, contradictions may emerge, as subject group conveners have to ensure that the subject groups deliver required outputs. Another point relates to early-career academics, as they are not only expected to become fully-fledged academics, but they must also meet the expectations stemming from managerial authority. Thus, while the organisation of academic work at University College Business School relies on collegiate and professional authorities, and there is support in form of mentoring for early-career academics, the early-career stage can be seen to be characterised by accelerated workloads.

2 How does engagement in academic work accumulate into economic, social, and cultural career capital at State University Business School and University College Business School?

In my formulation of career capital, I draw on the understanding of career capital as emergent from accumulated labour (Bourdieu, 1986). Engagement in academic work and related activities can, therefore, be seen to accumulate into career capital under the condition that the engagement is approved by others in the career field. While this formulation could be seen to direct attention to individuals and their actions, my analysis directs attention to the conditions of career agency. That is, how engagement in academic work and activities accumulates into economic, social, and cultural career capitals. Thus, my analysis demonstrates how the accumulation of capital occurs at the intersection of

local career context and the intersecting authorities that connect the local career context with the wider field.

The relevance for focusing on the interplay between underpinning career context and the legitimising authorities is that it shapes how career capital is defined. While the progress depends on the constant accumulation of relevant outcomes and achievements in both career contexts (Kwiek and Antonowicz, 2015), there are certain differences in how the labourisation of academic work or the conversion of cultural career capital shapes the conditions of career agency. In this context, economic career capital directs attention to the division between community feeding, repetitive labour, and work that has the ability to accumulate concrete outcomes (Arendt, 1958). While engagement in academic labour is essential in sustaining academic communities, academics are faced with a catch-22 situation in an adventitious career context. While externally funded project research might provide the following employment stint at State University Business School, being employed does not necessarily further career progression because project research seldom results in academic publications.

In a positional career context, where the movement forward is perceived to depend on the ability to produce outputs that feature well in reoccurring research audit RAE/REF, the teaching-focused academics and those whose research is not deemed refable can find themselves less well positioned. Thus, the field relevant economic career capital can be described as research grants or scholarships (Duberley and Cohen, 2010), it is essential that economic career capital results in peer-reviewed academic publications, research visits, and degrees. In other words, economic career capital requires conversion into

social and cultural career capital to become field relevant.

Cultural career capital directs attention to what I refer to as the conversion of cultural career capital. As I note in Chapter 7, the conversion of cultural capital refers to how expectations stemming from managerial authority start to underpin the characteristics of employable or promotable academic. Thus, the conversion of cultural career capitals directs attention to the employable or promotable academic has a lengthy publication record that features well in the Publication Forum or is deemed as refable. However, the consequences of the conversion of cultural career capital on individual academics depend to a certain extent on the underpinning career context. In an adventitious career context, where the years of employment do not necessarily concur with increased employment security, the division emerges between those who have a permanent contract and those who work in a temporary role. In the context of University College Business School, the division arises between early-career and established academics. This is not to say that established academics are freed from the RAE/REF or student evaluations but to point out how differences in accumulated career capitals, in fact, cause divisions amongst academic women. While everyone is exposed to research audits and teaching evaluations, those who have the right kind of know-how and know-whom knowledge are more capable to manoeuvre in the positional career field than those who do not have the same set of career capitals. Cultural and social career capital can, therefore, provide some protection and means for moving forward.

Based on my analysis, I note how social career capital can be understood in terms of social networks at both business schools. However, as social career capital emerges at the

intersection of the underpinning career context and authorities that place academics in certain relationships with each other and their activities, there are certain differences in how academics draw on social career capital. At State University Business School, the push towards international networking could be seen to relate the expectations stemming from managerial authority. That said, State University Business School demonstrates how social career capital can have a stabilising effect in an adventitious career context. As employment and career opportunities emerge in an *ad hoc* manner in an adventitious career context, there can be abrupt shifts as academics move to a research grant or take over a temporary position elsewhere in the business school. Thus, social networks can be used to identify suitable candidates to fill the fixed-term contracts, whereas having worked successfully in a previous role can prompt an offer for another stint.

At University College Business School, strategic networking was considered as something that especially characterises the early-career stage, whereas established academics use their networks to further their career moves. Thus, in the case of established academics, social career capital can be described more in terms of a lubricant that furthers academics' movement between the business schools. However, it is relevant to point out that the benign working community might also be a reason for not moving forward. Thus, social career capital can also be a stabilising factor for individuals in a positional career context.

3. How does the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity shape women's engagement in academic work and subsequently academic careers at the State University Business School and the University College Business School?

In my conceptualisation of gender, I understand gender as emergent from a set of practices that assign and position individuals as feminine and masculine based on the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity. Drawing on this understanding, I maintain that the defining difference between State University Business School and University College Business School is how feminine–masculine division is displayed. At State University Business School, gender practices revolve around two themes: managing gender-neutrality through amending the references to gender differences and localising improper attitudes to one-off chauvinists or dysfunctional subject groups, while femininity is prescribed as an active stance. This departs from University College Business School. At University College Business School, the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity is based on the feminine–masculine division that is expressed in several ways from a gendered division of labour to how individuals position themselves in relation to certain ideals. That said, femininity and masculinity are not understood as essential features or tied with certain bodies at University College Business School. Instead, masculinity is described as a specific stance characterised by competitive individualism. Therefore, it is not masculinity or male-bodied individuals as such but a certain formulation of masculinity that underpins gender divisions.

With regard to engagement in academic work and academic careers, one of the reoccurring patterns in interviews at the case of State University Business School is the understanding of academic work being a suitable line of work for women with small children. To a certain extent, it relates to the perception of femininity as an active stance, but references are also made to the specific framing of academic freedom that emphasise

spatial and temporal flexibility to work when and wherever there is a suitable moment. In practical terms, this flexibility is supported by the AWT which was not followed up at the time of interviews. As maternity and parental leaves are legitimised at State University Business School by bureaucratic authority, they are interwoven as part of the continually fluctuating adventitious career context. Thus, caring responsibilities at State University Business School do not necessarily result in a specific period in which women focus on a particular dimension within academic work as appears to occur at University College Business School, but a period of working whenever and wherever possible.

To a certain extent, the adventitious career context could be seen to promote gender-neutrality. As there are no clearly defined career trajectories or annual promotion rounds, it is hard to pinpoint exactly the moments of exclusion. That said, while State University Business School is characterised by the gender-neutral ideals and the temporal and spatial freedom associated with academic work makes it a relevant option for women with children, the gender-neutral façade starts to crack with regard to career security. As pointed above, one of the major moves in an adventitious career context is the securing of a permanent contract. While some interviewees had their previous temporary positions turned into permanent ones, the open-call recruitment procedure poses a moment in which the cumulative consequences of maternity and parental leaves have the potential to position individuals disadvantageously. That said, parental leaves are not necessarily the sole cause of disadvantages. As pointed out above, the labourisation of academic work also places those who have worked extensively on externally funded project research as similarly disadvantaged.

In contrast to State University Business School, where the emphasis is on gender-neutrality, University College Business School, as an organisational career context, is characterised by the feminine–masculine division that extends form certain characteristics to the gendered division of academic work. While this could be seen to place women disadvantageously in relation to the competitive, individualistic formulation of masculinity, University College Business School directs attention to how the influence of practically shared understanding of femininity and masculinity on academic women and their careers varies. The differences depend on how women are positioned within the business school and their previously accumulated career capital. The early-career stage can be seen to require a masculine kind of agency of carelessness, whereas those in academic leadership positions are expected to reject the competitive formulation of masculinity and promote other women. To a certain extent, these expectations are intensified by the underpinning positional career context and authorities that place academics in certain relationships with each other and their activities. As there is an annual promotion round and the assumption is that academics move from position to another, the unexplained delays can be seen as a sign of inequalities.

To conclude my discussion, as I point out above, the main difference between State University Business School and University College Business School is how the feminine–masculine division is displayed. That said, while the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity can be seen to set a frame for how academic work is approached, the consequences of gender practices on how women engage in academic work and careers are not fixed, but fluctuate and change across the field and over time. Moreover, while the accumulation of consequences in adventitious career

context or the accelerated workloads in a positional career context could be related to a certain formulation of femininity and masculinity, these formulations become consequential as a part of an interconnected and intertwined field of practice.

9.2 Contribution to the existing research: A conceptual framework to address career agency in conjunction with gender in a comparative research

In the previous section, I set out to answer my research question and three sub-questions. While my empirical findings have some relevance for pointing out how gender-neutral ideals are maintained at State University Business School and how authorities shift decision-making powers within and beyond the business schools, the main contribution of this research is two-fold: the conceptual framework and the set of conceptual tools that underpin my analysis captured in Figure 9.1 as well as the application of practice-based studies to career research. As I note in Chapter 2, academic career research is troubled with the issues shared with the career studies. The main issue is the question of whether the focus should be on institutional frames or individual action (Inkson et al., 2012), and how to conceptualise the relationship between structural constraints and individuals and their careers (Duberley et al., 2006a; Barley, 1989). As Siekkinen et al. (2017) note, academic career studies have two components—organisational and individual—that should be addressed in research analysis.

To combine the two components of individual and organisational ones in research analysis, I propose the application of practice-based studies to career research. As the

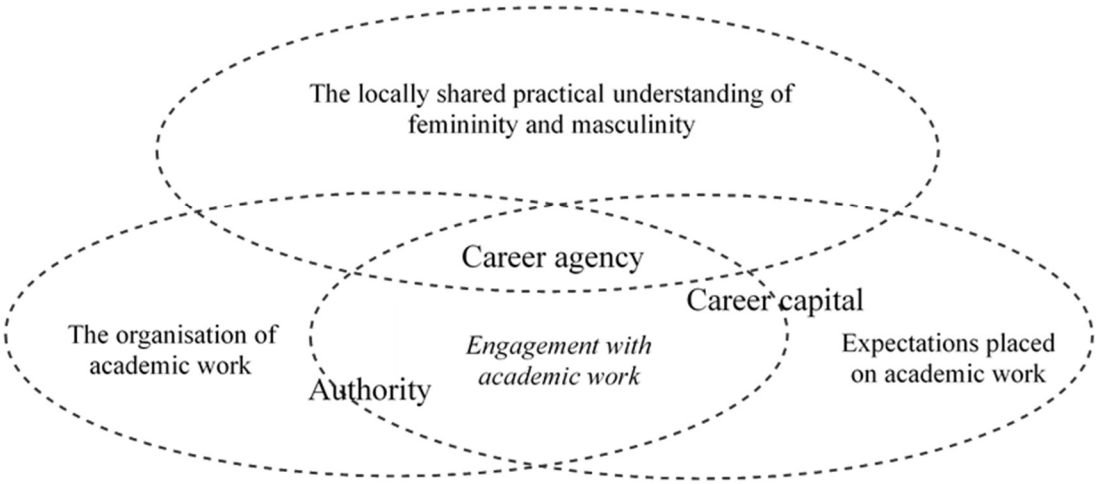
tenets of practice-based studies prioritise practices as units of analysis, rejects dualism as way of theorising, and understands relations as mutually constitutive (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011), the focus shifts away from individuals and their capabilities to how embedded actions, in other words practices, emerge from certain contexts (Schatzki, 2001). Thus, the principles of practice-based studies provide the solution for the division between old and new careers. As pointed out in Section 2.1, the division between old and new career revolves around the question 'whether careers are mainly the product of institutional frameworks or of individual agency' (Inkson et al., 2012: 327). As practice-based studies ask what kind of agency is possible under certain conditions (Nicolini, 2012), it provides the underpinnings for a conceptual framework that brings the institutional and individual perspectives together. Hence, as I note in Section 4.4, the tenets of practice-based studies provide an approach to agency that rejects the reproduction of neo-liberal subjectivities and employability doctrine that places the blame on failing individuals (Roper et al., 2011; Cappelli, 2000).

As I note in Chapter 1, I adopt the notion of career agency as a starting point. It is a surprisingly under-explored notion when one considers that the question of agency tends to linger in career studies (Tams and Arthur, 2010). To my knowledge, Lam and de Campos (2015) provide an exception, as their research draws on the frameworks of psychological contract and social exchange to explore career agency in research careers. Because so few studies focus explicitly on career agency as such, I focus on four conceptual frameworks that have been used in addressing academic and research careers. Based on my analysis, the existing formulations describe agency as an individual capacity as exhibited in studies drawing on notions such as academic identity (Ylijoki and Ursin,

2013; Hakala, 2009; Archer, 2008a, 2008b; Clegg, 2008; Henkel, 2000) or identity trajectories (McAlpine et al., 2014; McAlpine and Amundsen, 2011) or as embedded in which the attention is on career outcomes (Laudel and Gläser, 2008; Kaulisch and Enders, 2005) or social referencing (Duberley et al., 2006a; Dany et al., 2011; Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2017). While each of the approaches provided valuable venues for further exploration, there are certain limitations with regard to agency. The approaches that frame agency as an individual capacity to manoeuvre and position in relation to certain ideals are unable to address how change prompted by individuals and their actions or how ambiguities in career contexts are reflected in emerging individual capabilities to act. The latter is also applicable to outcome-focused approaches, which is furthermore characterised by an inability to acknowledge how power relationships within academia might shape the career outcomes. Research aligning with social referencing does not necessarily encourage the exploration of how positionality shapes the ability to engage with certain career scripts.

Similar to career studies, no widely agreed understanding has emerged of how gender and agency should be addressed. As I point out in Chapter 3, the poststructuralist tradition rejects the humanist framing of agency as individual property (London Feminist Salon Collective, 2004; Clegg, 2006; Davies, 1991), while practice perspective frames individuals as active, albeit unreflective, 'practitioners' of gender (Martin, 2003; 2006), whereas the ethnomethodological tradition of 'doing gender' acknowledges intentionality in gender displays (Jones, 2009). That said, one of the major issues is the reliance on gender dichotomy, and how it frames women's agency. As femininity and masculinity is prescribed as mutually exclusive hierarchically organised categories (Le Feuvre, 2009),

Figure 9.1 Career agency at the intersection of gender, the organisation of academic work, and the expectations placed on academic work



women's agency is described in negative terms as the excluded one (Fotaki, 2013) or research furthers stereotypical framing of femininity (Mavin, 2008; Ellemers et al., 2004), while other approaches emphasises women's ability to learning and unlearning genders (Rhoton, 2010; Powell et al., 2009), whereas approaches focusing socially constructed gender might not necessarily be able to grasp how it intertwines with other social constructions, such as age and social class (Søndergaard, 2005; Collins, 1995). As the focus is on the feminine–masculine dichotomy, there is a danger that research analysis reduces itself listing new forms of femininities and masculinities instead of unravelling how these become consequential to individuals (Pascoe, 2007), or how the context and conditions of career agency emerge and intertwine with gender in organisational settings.

To address the limitations in the existing conceptualisation, this research puts forward a conceptual framework that focuses on career agency while drawing on the principles of practice-based studies (Nicolini, 2012; Schatzki, 2012; Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011;

Gherardi, 2009). In the proposed formulation of career agency, I start from the definition of career agency as 'a process of work-related social engagement, informed by past experiences and future possibilities through which an individual invests in his or her career', as proposed by Tams and Arthur (2010: 630). That said, although I do understand agency as emergent from work-related social engagements, as Tams and Arthur (2010) suggest, I maintain that focusing solely on individual processes of work-related engagements would sustain neo-liberal subjectivities (Roper et al., 2011) and would not be able to response to the calls for contextual turn in career studies (Inkson et al., 2012; Gunz et al., 2011; Tams and Arthur, 2010). Thus, as captured in Figure 9.1, I propose a conceptual framework that places career agency at the intersection of the organisation of academic work, the expectations placed on academic work, and the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity. When operationalised in research inquiry, the conceptual framework draws on the notions of authority and career capital and the specific formulation of gender that is based on the tenets of practice-based studies.

Hence, in Sections 9.2.1 and 9.2.2, I discuss in more detail how my conceptual framework furthers the existing studies, how the notions of adventitious and positional career contexts allow for the capturing of possible career moves within an organisational career context, and how it relates to the wider field. The concept of authority, by contrast, directs attention to how academics are placed in relation to their colleagues and activities within a certain organisational career context. In Section 9.2.3, I demonstrate how the concept of career capital captures the way in which engagement in academic work accumulates into economic, social, and cultural career capital while directing attention to the interplay between the work-organising authorities and the underpinning career context. Finally, in

Section 9.2.4, I show how the conceptualisation of gender as the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity supports a shift from an explanatory to an exploratory approach in gender analysis.

9.2.1 Capturing the drifts and shifts in an organisational career context

To summarise the differences between the two business schools, I draw on the notions of adventitious and positional career context. As I note above, the notions of adventitious and positional refer to how career and employment opportunities emerge in a certain organisational context. As I have discussed, in an adventitious career context employment and career opportunities emerge in an *ad hoc* manner, whereas positional career context academics are hired to a certain role and the assumption is that academics move forward in their respective career trajectory.

To a certain extent, my analysis of State University Business School as an adventitious career context resonates with the existing studies. The Finnish academic career system has been described as concurring with a tournament model in which those having a permanent contract endured multiple tournaments before finally securing permanent employment (Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2017; Musselin, 2007). While the term tournament can be seen to reflect the situation in general terms, it does not necessarily direct attention to the constant shifts from one stint to another. In this context, the notion of adventitious career context highlights how academic careers are more closely resemble a game of resilience and endurance, and in some cases, there is no reward of permanency. In the

existing research, it has been noted how the academic career field can be divided into two interrelated fields: temporary and permanent contracts. However, while I concur with Välimaa (2001b) that contract type, whether permanent or temporary, defines career goals significantly, I depart from the understanding that real career building occurs in the field of permanent contracts. On the contrary, the accumulation of career capital starts from the moment one enters the academic career field.

As with State University Business School, my framing of University College Business School as a positional career context resonates with existing research. As I point out above, a positional career context is characterised by clearly defined career trajectories in which academics are placed based on their major role. Similarly, the work done in the English context notes how academics are assigned to their respective career trajectories based on their main roles, and how both vertical and horizontal career moves within the parallel career trajectories depend on the ability to deliver desirable outputs (Locke at al., 2016; Locke, 2014; Strike, 2010; Strike and Taylor, 2008; Harley et al., 2004). In addition, there are indications of a shift in underpinning logic. While academic careers in England could be seen to reflect professional careers in which one's skills and acknowledgement from peers are prioritised over organisational rank (Kanter, 1989), there are indications that the academic careers are shifting towards an entrepreneurial career model (Harley et al., 2004). This observation resonates with my analysis. As I note, the conversion of cultural career capital and the labourisation of academic work direct attention to how those with the wrong kind of capital are less able to move forward in a positional career context.

While my analysis resonates with the existing studies in both cases, the notions of adventitious and positional career context focus specifically on certain organisational context and point out what is possible in a certain setting. That said, to further our understanding of how the context of career agency emerges in adventitious and positional career contexts, I draw on the notion of authority. As I note in Section 9.2, authority is based on the understanding of organisational career contexts as sites of intersecting practices resulting in relations that breach from organisational setting to the wider field. Thus, the notion of authority furthers our understanding of how certain career contexts emerge, as I point out in the following section.

9.2.2 The organisational dimension in career studies: Capturing the underpinning tensions and the question of change

Based on my analysis, I maintain that practices while being based on certain legitimation do not have any inherent meanings as such. Instead, as Rouse (2007) notes, practices become meaningful only in the context of other continuing practices. This also applies to authorities. Thus, while authorities draw on certain legitimation, this only provides the rationale for how academics are placed in certain relationships with each other and their activities. Therefore, authority provides a conceptual tool that directs attention to embedded organisational contexts and the underpinning tensions and contradictions that characterise those contexts.

From a career agency perspective, authority as a conceptual tool allows for the identification of roles and positions that come with certain powers but also sheds light on

why these very same roles and positions might become powerless. However, rather than mechanically mapping out the positions of power, I maintain that the relevance of authority as a conceptual tool is its ability to explore the underpin tensions within an organisational career context. As I discuss in Sections 2.3 and 2.4, State University Business School has emerged from previously centrally managed university sector (Aarrevaara, 2012; Tirronen and Nokkala, 2009; Hölttä and Rekilä, 2003), whereas University College Business School is placed in a highly diverse university sector characterised both by institutional autonomy and increasing external steering (Brown and Carasso, 2013; Ferlie et al., 2008; Shattock, 2006; Farnham, 1999). To a certain extent, the historical differences can be seen to underpin the current tensions and ambiguities in the career field.

While State University Business School started as an independent institution, it was nationalised in the 1970s and became part of the highly centralised higher education sector that discouraged competition and rivalry between universities (Kettunen, 2013). In this regard, there has been a major shift. State University Business School regained institutional autonomy in 2010, whereas the current university governance encourages diversification amongst universities (Tirronen and Nokkala, 2009). However, the attempt to shift away from the centrally managed human resource management to autonomous personnel policy has resulted in a combination of old conventions with new approaches (Siekkinen et al., 2016). The existing research, in fact, draws attention to the tensions and contradictions related to the current HRM practices and the implementation of the tenure-track system (Siekkinen et al., 2017; Siekkinen et al., 2016; Pietilä, 2017; 2015; Herbert and Tienari, 2013). While my analysis supports these observations by pointing out the

tensions between Central Administration and the business school, it also provides an explanation as to why the changes in organisational structures do not necessarily result in assumed outcomes.

Based on my analysis, I claim that the internal reorganisation has not considered how academic practices, including academic leadership, are located within a network of intersecting practices that breach from organisational context to the wider field. Thus, as I point out above, authorities shift decision-making powers within and beyond the business school. Moreover, as State University Business School is faced with the reduced public funding, there are clear limitations to what can achieved in the subject groups. Instead, there are indications of diversification amongst academics as there are differences between the subject groups in how academic work is organised and how the subject group responds to the expectations stemming from managerial authority. That said, the notion of academic freedom has remained strong. The observation of increasing polarisation amongst academics (Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013), as well as the robustness of academic values (Ylijoki and Henriksson, 2017; Hakala, 2008), have been confirmed in other studies. Thus, my analysis provides an organisational perspective on how this takes place. As I note in Chapter 6, while bureaucratic and professorial authorities can be seen to cause diversification amongst academics, they also underpin academic freedom at State University Business School.

While State University Business School points out how the external steering might fail, University College Business School directs attention to the tension in academia. In contrast to State University, University College has always been an independent

institution. However, similar to other English universities, it is currently exposed to diverse forms of evaluations that aim to assess teaching and research excellence, whereas the diverse rankings attempt to measure University College Business School's desirability as a study destination. In practical terms, the previously independent universities and colleges that based their governance on the ideal of a self-governing community of scholars have become a part of highly diverse higher education sector funded through tuition fees (Brown and Carasso, 2013; Farnham, 1999). Not surprisingly, the existing work from the English context tends to draw on an implicit understanding of academic profession or standing as opposed to that of a managerial one (Clarke and Knights, 2015; Archer, 2008a; 2008b; Clarke et al., 2012). In this context, collegiate standing is based on trust and professionalism, whereas managerialism is associated with exclusion, hierarchy, and context-independent categories and rankings (Teelken, 2012). From an academic career perspective, this tension is captured in observation of increasing entrepreneurial career orientation (Harley et al., 2004), careerism (Clarke and Knights, 2015) as academics attempt to navigate between two extremes.

While my analysis illustrates how managerial and professional authorities are in contradiction with each other, University College Business School directs attention to another tension that emerges between inclusion and collegiality professional authorities. The interconnectedness between collegiality and professionalism has been pointed out by Middlehurst (1995: 81) in noting how both professionalism and collegiality draw on the understanding of seniority and proficiency 'as a source of authority and influence' and emphasise on self-governance of work. Similarly, Evetts (2013) understands collegial decision-making as a characteristic of occupational professionalism. However, while

collegiality and professionalism can be seen to provide the basis decision-making structures that prioritise professional consideration and trust over managerial distrust, it is inevitable that collegiality and professionalism are notions that draw on exclusion. As the ideals of collegiality have emerged in highly exclusive and elitist contexts (Tapper and Palfreyman, 1998), collegiality in English academia concurs more with participatory rather than democratic presentation (Dearlove, 1997). Hence, collegiality does not necessarily align with inclusivity, as Deem et al. (2007) remind us. Similarly, because profession as a concept is based on exclusion (Evetts, 2011), collegiate and professional authorities have the potential both for inclusion and exclusion.

From a career agency perspective, professional and collegiate authorities can ideally provide underpinnings for organisational contexts characterised by transparency and collegiality and form spaces for resistance, as takes place at University College Business School. However, as the case of promotions highlight, the very same authorities that promote inclusion and transparency in one setting can become a tool for exclusion in another context. As the decisions about promotions are made within a group of equal peers based on their professional judgement, they clearly draw on collegial and professional authorities. That said, this does not mean that promotions automatically are characterised by transparent inclusion, as the references to murky history indicate. To understand why authorities can result in both inclusion and exclusion, or promote academic freedom but also diversification amongst academics, it is relevant to keep in mind that authorities as such do not have inherent meanings. Instead, they become meaningful only in the context of other continuing practices (Rouse, 2007). Hence, as a conceptual tool, authority allows for the uncovering of tensions and ambiguities that

characterise organisational career contexts, and how these shape career outcomes.

9.2.3 The expectations placed on academic work: Career capital the shift from individualistic framing of agency to the conditions of career agency

In the previous section, I show how the notion of authority directs attention to contradictions and tensions within an organisational career context. To further my discussion, I turn my attention now to the conditions of career agency and how I draw on the concept of career capital in my analysis. The reason for drawing in the concept of career capital is that it can be placed amongst approaches that frame agency as embedded while mapping how individual acts or situated practices result in career agency (Tams and Arthur, 2010). In qualitative research, the two approaches a competency-based (Arthur et al., 1999; Defillipi and Arthur, 1994) and a Bourdieusian one (Iellatchitch et al., 2003) that provide the starting point for this research inquiry.

As I note in Section 4.3.2, the limitations of existing approaches can be briefly summarised along the following lines. The competency-based approach frames the employer and employee relationship as a reciprocal exchange (Arthur et al., 1999), whereas the Bourdieusian framing of career field understands it as a semi-autonomous social context (Iellatchitch et al., 2003). Thus, the competency-based approach does not necessarily pay attention to sometimes contradictory expectations placed on employees and their work and the power relationships between employers and employees. The Bourdieusian framing understanding of career fields as semi-autonomous social contexts

does not provide tools to address how the shifts between managerial and professional stances empower academic elites (Musselin, 2013), or in other words, who some are able to play two games at the same time.

To address the limitations this research puts forward two modifications. First, this research draws on the understanding of the career field as a continuum that extends beyond the business school to the wider field. Second, rather than focusing on individuals and their capabilities, attention is placed on how career capital is shaped by the interplay between underpinning career contexts and authorities. Thus, while my observations about how the differences in accumulated career capital creates further divisions amongst academics and how those with strong research capital appear to be better positioned (Angervall and Gustaffson, 2014; Duberley and Cohen, 2010) both at State University Business School and University College Business School, my analysis explores further how the differences in various forms of accumulated career capital are promoted by authorities and the underpinning career context. As my analysis of social career capital indicates, social networks provide stability for individuals and subject groups in an adventitious career context. While social career capital might offer reasons for staying in a certain setting in a positional career context, it functions more like a lubricant that furthers movement from one organisational context to another.

The relevance of underpinning career context and authorities in shaping how career capital is defined and used becomes evident in the case of two interlinked trends: the labourisation of academic work and the conversion of cultural career capital. As I note in Chapter 7, the labourisation of academic work refers to how academic work can be

currently divided along the lines of labour and work. While labour is essential for communities to survive, only work can accumulate tangible and acknowledged achievements (Arendt, 1958). The observations about the labourisation of academic work questions the Bourdiusian framing of career capital, which maintains that economic career capital is essential in communicating what is valued in a career field (Iellatchitch et al., 2003). Based on a discussion centred on academic capitalism (Jessop, 2018; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997) and the marketisation of academic activities (Brown and Carasso, 2013; Ylijoki et al., 2011), it is tempting to assume that market-driven behaviours have become a crucial part of academic career-building. Instead, while there are indications are that academics are incentivised to adopt an entrepreneurial attitude towards career-making (Pietilä, 2017), academics seldom engage with activities to gain economic rewards, as Blackmore (2015) reminds us. Ultimately, the emphasis is on gaining something that is deemed prestigious by the academic community (Blackmore, 2015). Community feeding academic labour that does not accumulate to acknowledged achievements, therefore, becomes a secondary activity compared to 'proper' academic work. Thus, those who engage in academic labour might not be able to accrue the kind of capital that furthers or stabilises academic careers.

While the labourisation of academic work could be seen to reflect the specificity of academic career field and commitment to professional values rather than economic ones, this interpretation is questioned by the conversion of cultural career capital. As discussed in Chapter 7, the conversion of cultural career capital directs attention to how managerial authority starts to define the characteristics of an employable or promotable academic. As cultural capital can be seen to reflect the knowledge and practices that further

successful engagement with dominant institutions (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990), it would be tempting to claim that managerial authority forms the dominant institution in the current academic career field. However, I hesitate to conclude my analysis along these lines. There are critical voices and attempts to do things differently, as University College Business School's approach to RAE/REF demonstrates in Chapter 6.

Thus, rather than claiming that managerial authority is the dominant institution in academia, the conversion of cultural career capital directs attention to the interplay between underpinning career context, authorities, and career capital. While the analysis starts on how educational and other achievements, in other words cultural career capital, are used to gain career advantages, it explores how the differences in cultural career capital become consequential. As I note above, while both career contexts are confined to the accumulative career model (Kwiek and Antonowicz, 2015), the underpinning adventitious and positional career context defines the possible career-moves, while the intersecting authorities place academics in certain relationships with each other and their activities. Thus, these two provide the underpinnings for how academic career capital becomes consequential.

As my analysis demonstrates, the division is drawn between the early-career academics and the established ones in a positional career context. While both are exposed to expectations stemming from managerial authority, established academics can rely on already accumulated know-how and know-who to manoeuvre in the positional career field. Similarly, the observation regarding the labourisation of academic work shows that engaging in income-generating activities does not necessarily result in career progression.

That said, the consequences of labourisation are linked to the underpinning career contexts. In an adventitious career context, engagement in academic labour might provide the following stint, but not the necessary career capital that can be used to secure a permanent position. My analysis, therefore, concurs with Duberley and Cohen's (2010) observations of career capital as both dynamic and local. Thus, I propose the use of a conceptual framework that places career agency, and subsequently career capital, at the intersection of an organisation of academic work, the expectations placed on academic work, and the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity. By doing so, the proposed conceptualisations of career agency and career capital respond to the calls for a contextual turn in career research.

9.2.4 The locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity: An explanatory take on gender and the question of agency in gender analysis

In the previous three sections, the discussion focuses on the context and conditions of career agency. As with my empirical analysis, I leave gender until the final section because I want to emphasise the layered approach to gender analysis. Thus, I start by mapping out the context and conditions of career agency before I explore how these intertwine with the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity. The reason for this is that, as I point out in Section 9.2, the focus on agency results in a situation in which one of my major concerns is how the feminine–masculine dichotomy is utilised in research analysis. Although the current field of gender studies is highly diverse, and the focus of gender analysis is extended from individual characteristics to a

concern for more complex phenomena for example organisations (Acker, 1990), professions (Davies, 1996), and women's careers (Evetts, 2000), there is a tendency to prioritise the feminine–masculine dichotomy in research analysis. While this approach is a fruitful approach to challenging the status quo (Van den Brink, 2010; Acker, 1990), similar to career research, the question of agency in gender studies is one of the areas that require further consideration.

To address the question of agency in gender analysis, I propose an exploratory approach to gender analysis in which neither femininity nor masculinity is used as an explanation for exclusion. Instead, the focus is on how practices that constitute the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwine with the context and conditions of career agency. While this proposition could be seen as methodological one, the underpinning conceptualisation of gender departs from approaches in which gender is understood as a stand-alone order or an institution (Connell, 2005; 1989; Martin, 2004) or is framed as an embedded and integral part of a seemingly gender-neutral phenomena (Halford et al., 1997; Acker, 1990). The latter stance is captured in Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organisation, which places gender processes in the heart of organisational activities. In this line of argumentation, research analysis unravels how advantages and disadvantages are disseminated along the lines of femininity and masculinity, women and men, in seemingly gender-neutral organisations (Kantola, 2008; Acker, 1990). Thus, unravelling the seemingly gender-neutral contexts or how gender resurfaces up as a defining factor in certain instances (Britton, 2017) becomes the focus of research analysis.

While my formulation of gender understands it as a social practice amongst other could be seen to concur with the embedded approach applied in the theory of gendered organisation (Halford et al., 1997; Acker, 1990), I emphasise that gender becomes consequential only in the context of other practices. By adopting this stance, I do not reject the presence of gender practices in organisational career contexts. Instead, I understand it as a practice amongst others. This shift results in an approach in which the focus is on how the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity intertwines with the context and conditions of career agency. Therefore, the conceptual framework not only supports comparison between the two cases but also allows the exploration of how gender practices become consequential in certain organisational settings.

Based on my analysis, I maintain that State University Business School provides an interesting case owing to the emphasis on gender neutrality. My analysis resonates with other studies that point out how Finnish organisations revolve around the ideals of gender-neutrality (Korvajärvi, 2002), or are characterised by the 'genderless gender' (Lahelma, 2012; Nikunen, 2012). The ideals of gender neutrality emerge from the accomplished gender-neutral individual self (Lahelma, 2012). Thus, gender is perceived as a private issue that should be concealed in the work contexts; the only exception is salaries (Lahelma, 2012; Korvajärvi, 2002; 1998). As Korvajärvi (2002) notes, both formal and informal organisational cultures are used to neutralise gender—how gender issues can be swept away by drawing attention to the harmonious working community.

Although I depart from the cultural approach, I cannot help but to note that, on the one

hand, bureaucratic authority legitimises maternity and parental leaves as part of career trajectories, while on the other hand, the references to gender differences is mended up by drawing attention to instances emphasise women's agency and capabilities to progress. Femininity is, therefore, not necessarily understood as a rejected position in relation to masculinity but an active stance. This understanding, together with the specific formulation of academic freedom emphasising flexibility, results in a career context where academic work is seen as a preferable line of work for women with young families. This does not necessarily result in an ideal situation; the underpinning adventitious career context means that academic women often work under precarious conditions. Thus, as I note in Section 8.1, the consequences of care, as well as project research, emerge in an accumulative manner resulting in cracks that cannot be mended.

To a certain extent, my analysis of University College Business School can be seen to confirm the existing debates about academia requiring a carefree agency (Van den Brink, 2010; Lynch, 2010) and how academic practices and notions, such as academic excellence or academic networking, are inherently gendered as they require the kind of agency often associated with masculinity (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2014; Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012a; Van den Brink, 2010). That said, I hesitate to conclude my discussion along similar lines. Instead, I maintain that reducing the discussion to revolve around the feminine–masculine dichotomy does not consider how the very same practices that result in masculinised fields create also differences amongst academic women (Jönsas, 2019). Moreover, as the analysis demonstrates, the positioning in relation to that competitive masculinity is not constant but varies depending on how women are positioned within the career field.

In line with existing studies, this research demonstrates that women in leadership positions are visibly placed out there to be evaluated by others, whereas men and their actions tend to disappear in the multitude (Priola, 2007; Morley, 2005). Thus, the women at the top are sometimes exposed to additional gender-related expectations. At the same time, there are indications that individual women working in STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) establish themselves as professionals by distancing themselves from feminine characteristics (Rhoton, 2010). Similarly, those at the early-career stage can benefit from a masculine-type agency because the expectations stemming from managerial authority place additional pressures on those who have yet to learn the rules of the game. While this does not imply the rejection of feminine characteristics, the early-career stage is perceived to require the kind of agency that is associated with masculinity. While these observations could be seen to reflect a preference for masculinity, I rather emphasise how and why the masculine kind of agency becomes consequential for career agency. As this research shows, authorities organising academic work and the underpinning positional career context shape how the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity becomes consequential to career agency. Thus, the divisions amongst academic women do not necessarily concur along the lines of femininity and masculinity but also career stages, assigned career pathways, and accumulated career capitals.

To conclude, in her work, Acker (2010: 147) refers to women and circumscribed agency that is 'limited by the wider institutional and social conditions in which they work'. While Acker (2010) confirms that women's exclusion is currently achieved in a more nuanced way than previously, I maintain that the wider institutional and social conditions can also

empower certain women while placing others disadvantageously. Thus, a conceptual framework is needed that allows us to address how this occurs. To achieve this, I maintain that the focus should be on the context and conditions of career agency. That said, as Nicolini (2012) notes, using context as an explanatory factor does not as such result in a detailed analysis of how the conditions came about. Thus, based on this research, I maintain that attention should be on the interplay between authorities, the underpinning career context, career capitals, and the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity. By doing so, we are able to capture how the conditions of career agency and the careers of academic women came about in a certain organisational setting.

9.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out to answer my research questions and discuss the relevance of my research inquiry in relation to the existing research. While it cannot be denied that those who can be mobile and prolific researchers are better positioned to achieve the current markers of excellence (Lund, 2012), I maintain that career agency is not solely based on hierarchically organised gender categories (LeFeuvre, 2009). Instead, as I point out in this chapter, the attention should be on the interplay between authorities that organised academic work, the underpinning career context, and career capitals, and the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity. By doing so, we gain a more nuanced understanding of how the careers of academic women emerge and are sustained in certain organisational contexts. Thus, the main contribution this research proposes is a novel conceptual framework based on the tenets of practice-based studies

that underpin this research analysis. In this context, the tenets of practice-based studies provide the theoretical underpinnings that encourage us to explore what kind of agency is possible in a certain setting (Nicolini, 2012). By doing so, the proposed conceptual framework responds to the calls for a contextual turn in career research (Inkson et al., 2012; Gunz et al., 2011; Tams and Arthur, 2010). Thus, in the following chapter, I discuss the practical implications, points for further research, and the limitations, before I conclude this thesis with a personal reflection.

CHAPTER TEN
SO, IT BEGAN WITH PERSIAN RUGS AND ENDED WITH A PUBLICATION PIPELINE

In Chapter 1, I note how this thesis can be divided into two parts. The first part sets out the empirical and contextual background and the theoretical and methodological underpinnings for this research inquiry, and the second part focuses on the empirical analysis and the relevance of this research. In the previous chapters, I focused first on the empirical analysis, after which Chapter 9 answers the research questions and discusses how this research contributes to the existing studies. As I point out in Section 9.2, the contribution of this research inquiry is the conceptual framework that draws on the notions of authority and career capital to address the context and conditions of career agency while promoting an exploratory approach to gender in research analysis.

Having described how this research contributes to the existing literature, this final chapter concludes this thesis by summarising this research inquiry and discussing the practical implications and points for further research and the limitations of this research inquiry. The discussion is organised as follows: In Section 10.1, I summarise briefly what this

research explored and the main findings, after which I discuss the practical implications and points for further research in Section 10.2. In Section 10.3, I discuss the limitations, before concluding this thesis in Section 10.4.

10.1 The summary of research inquiry

The first chapter begins with a vignette about academic women in two rooms. Drawing on the workshop and its environment, I noted how women are increasingly entering spaces and places that were previously reserved for men; although the conditions of academic work are not necessarily as prestigious as they used to be. 'The Persian rugs' have been replaced with a 'publication pipeline'. I believed this change to be reflective of managerialism and wondered how these gender regimes and new managerial working conditions resulted in hierarchies that shaped the careers of academic women. However, upon reviewing the context, I began to pay attention to women's actions. Rather than being passive recipients of gender and managerialist practices, women actively engaged with their surroundings – the publication pipeline and the men in the portraits. Unwittingly, I had discovered one of the more resilient questions pertaining to career studies; that is, the question of career agency, and whether careers are 'the product of institutional frameworks or of individual agency' (Inkson et al., 2012: 327).

Similar to the wider field of career studies, the question of agency, while not always in the forefront of research analysis, is also persistent in academic career research. While such research is often conducted at the conjunction of academic work and professional studies, and does not necessarily result in a specific field on its own, extensive attention

has been paid to how structural changes shape academic work, careers, and professions (Fumasoli et al., 2015; Teichler et al., 2013; Boyer et al., 1994); whereas, others direct attention to individual experience under changing conditions (Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013; Hakala, 2009; Archer, 2008a; 2008b; Henkel, 2000). However, while the tendency is to emphasise the tensions and feelings of loss that emerge from the changing institutional orientations and decreasing professional autonomy (Henkel, 2000), there are also indications that some thrive under the current conditions of academic work (Clarke and Knights, 2015; Ylijoki and Ursin, 2013).

In the context of academic career research, gender provides an additional critical lens because it directs attention towards how seemingly gender-neutral organisational practices and notions, such as excellence and networking, favour those who can exhibit carefree, individualistic, and competitive agency, which is often associated with masculinity (Van den Brink and Stobbe, 2014; Van den Brink, 2010; Bagilhole and Goode, 2001). Nevertheless, while the conditions under which academic careers are made have changed significantly, the number of women in academia has increased (HEFCE, 2017; Statistics Finland, 2016). Therefore, as career studies can be defined as 'the study of both individual and organisational change' (Van Maanen, 1977) as well as the study of societal change (Arthur et al., 1989), the careers of academic women provide an ideal case to explore how to capture and conceptualise career agency in career research.

Drawing on a holistic multiple case study framework (Yin, 2014), this research uses the careers of academic women in two business schools, one located in Finland and the other in England, as cases to explore how these careers have emerged and are sustained. The

differences in how the university sector and gender relations in academia have evolved (HEFCE, 2017; Statistics Finland, 2016; Brown and Carasso, 2013; Teichler et al., 2013; Husu, 2000; Bagilhole, 1993a) mean that Finland and England provide ideal sites to explore how to conceptualise career agency in research analysis. As I point out in the previous chapter, the empirical findings can be summarised using the notions of adventitious and positional career contexts, which capture the differences in how careers emerge and are sustained. While both business schools can be regarded as aligned with the cumulative career model, in which career progression is associated with the constant accumulation of relevant output and achievements (Kwiek and Antonowicz, 2015), career and employment opportunities emerge in an ad-hoc manner in an adventitious career context, such as at State University Business School. However, the positional career context is characterised by clearly defined career trajectories in which academics are placed in their main role. This latter definition applies to University College Business School.

While the notions of adventitious and positional career contexts direct attention towards how careers emerge, the notions of the labourisation of academic work and the conversion of cultural career capital refer to how academic careers are sustained. The labourisation of academic work highlights how those who engage in academic labour might not be able to accumulate the type of capital that furthers or stabilises academic careers. The conversion of cultural career capital, however, directs attention to how managerial authority might underpin how an employable or promotable academic is characterised.

At the same time, the main differences regarding how the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity are expressed at the two business schools can be summarised in how gender differences are displayed and managed. While the emphasis is on the ideal of gender neutrality and femininity as an active stance at State University Business School, University College Business School is characterised by a femininity-masculinity division. However, gender is not tied to certain bodies or individuals; instead, it is the competitive and individualistic formulation of masculinity that is seen to form the point of reference for other gender practices. However, rather than being similarly exposed to competitive and individualistic masculinity, women's standing in relation to the competitive masculinity depends on how they are positioned within the business school.

While the empirical findings might have some relevance in pointing out the differences in gender practices in certain career contexts, the main contribution of this research is the conceptual framework developed and used in the data analysis. Instead of framing career agency as reflecting individual characteristics or capabilities, the attention is on the context and conditions of career agency and how these intertwine with the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity. Thus, as I point out in the previous chapter, the conceptual framework can be summarised in the following three points: the framing of career contexts as sites of intersecting work-organising authorities that shift decision-making power within and beyond the business school while reaching out to the wider field; the understanding of career capital as shaped by the intersection of work-organising authorities and the underpinning career context; and noting how the locally shared practical understanding of femininity and masculinity becomes consequential

when intersecting with authorities, the underpinning career contexts, and the field-relevant career capitals. Having summarised this research inquiry, I now discuss the practical implications and points for further research in the following section, including the research and policy implications in more detail, after which I turn my attention to the limitations in Section 10.3.

10.2 Practical implications for further research and policy

As I point out in the previous chapter, the conceptual framework responds to calls for a contextual turn in career research (Inkson et al., 2012; Tams and Arthur, 2010) because it provides a solution to how to address organisational and individual aspects in academic career studies (Siekkinen et al., 2017) while promoting an exploratory approach to gender analysis. As the main contribution of this thesis is a conceptual framework, the practical implications are found in the fields of career and gender studies. Following this line of thought, the implications for further research provide two approaches. The first approach is to reflect on whether the conceptual framework developed in this research can be applied in other organisational career contexts and professions. The second route is to explore whether the observations of the labourisation of academic work and the conversion of cultural career capital in accordance with managerial authority can be confirmed in other academic organisational contexts.

That said, while exploring whether the conceptual framework can used in other contexts is an obvious point for further research, this research has more profound practical implications for career studies. I refer to how this research draws on the theoretical

underpinnings of practice-based studies to address the issue of the contextual turn in career studies. As I point out in Section 2.1, a widely agreed approach for addressing contextuality in career studies has not emerged. While there are new conceptualisations, such as career boundaries and boundary crossings (Gunz et al., 2007), as well as typologies of career models based on the intersections of professionalisation and organisational diversity (Jeong and Leblebici, 2019), and the application of boundary theory to career scholarship (Inkson et al., 2012), all these approaches tend to revolve more around how to conceptualise careers in research analysis than actually proposing a shift in how to theorise careers.

The relevance of how to theorise careers is related to Duberley et al.'s (2006b: 282) observation that, 'the tendency to separate individual agency and social structure leads to reductionist understandings that fail to account for the complex interplay between these dimensions'. This reductionist understanding can be related to the notion of career as a multidimensional perspective to social research. As I discuss in Chapter 2, career as a concept directs attention, on the one hand, towards the social contexts of career-making and, on the other hand, individual experience in that context (Iellatchitch et al., 2003; Barley, 1989). Thus, I maintain that, as the tenets of practice-based studies direct attention towards what type of agency is possible under certain conditions (Nicolini, 2012), practice-based studies do not reduce careers either to 'the product of institutional frameworks or of individual agency' (Inkson et al., 2012: 327). Instead, the emphasis is on the interplay between these two. Accordingly, this research not only provides a novel conceptual framework for career research, but also highlights how introducing new theoretical underpinnings, such as practice-based studies, for career research might

provide new avenues for further research.

In the case of gender studies, this research proposes an exploratory rather than explanatory approach, which has implications for further research. While the conceptualisation of gender used in this research does refer to femininity and masculinity, this division is not understood as a mutually exclusive hierarchy (Le Feuvre, 2009) but as a social practice that becomes consequential only in the context of other ongoing practices (Rouse, 2007). For further research, this distinction opens areas for exploring how gender becomes consequential in different contexts. As with career studies, when the tenets of practice-based studies are applied to gender research, the attention shifts towards what type of agency is possible under certain conditions (Nicolini, 2012). While this approach could be seen to reconfirm masculine oppression (Acker, 2010) or to point out how preference is given to those who can exhibit the carefree agency often associated with masculinity (Van den Brink and Benschop, 2014; Van den Brink and Benschop, 2012a; 2012b; Van den Brink, 2010), there is a possibility to retain an exploratory stance towards gender practices.

The relevance of an exploratory stance towards gender practices becomes evident when the aim is to determine how changes in gender relations happen. In the interviews, there were references to former and current male colleagues, mentors, line-managers, and professors who had helped and supported the interviewees. To my knowledge, intra-gender support is a somewhat under-researched area in academic careers. In the field of masculinity studies, the notion of inclusive masculinity (in contrast to orthodox masculinity), which emphasises inclusivity and, subsequently, rejects patriarchal

oppression (Anderson, 2009), has provided a framework to address changes in how masculinities are constructed. While discussions about inclusive masculinity have happened in the field of sports masculinities (Adams, 2011; Anderson and McGuire, 2010) and, thus, might not be applicable to the academic context, the notion itself indicates that competition and individualism are not necessarily in contradiction with inclusion, as is often assumed (Anderson, 2009). Building on these observations, the focus on intra-gender support could provide a case in point to scrutinise the conditions under which gender norms or relations are overturned, as well as how 'witty agents' take part in overturning and redoing gender practices (Nentwich and Kelan, 2014; Kelan, 2010; Lykke, 2010).

The policy implications can be summarised in terms of the question of change and how deliberate attempts to introduce new practices to organisational contexts might fail. Another implication is the attention on how academic work is defined and shapes academic career trajectories. Regarding the first point of change, this research focuses on why deliberate attempts to promote gender change or new dynamism in organisational contexts might fail. Such attempts either fail to acknowledge how activities emerge in the conjunction of various relations, or to assume that practices have inherent meanings that shift from one organisation to another. As the case of State University Business School highlights, one of the arguments made in abolishing the elected committees at department and subject group levels was to make space for more dynamic leadership practices (Aarrevaara, 2012). However, the replacement of democratic representative committees with line-managerial relations did not consider that academics and their activities emerge in the intersection of interrelated authorities that shape and direct actions and the

capabilities to act (Watson, 2017). Although professors might have more power in some issues, theirs is a role that is limited by financial constraints, bureaucratic procedures, and shaped by the ideals of what academic leadership and academic work are about. Thus, this research suggests that changes focusing only on organisational structures, while leaving other areas untouched, are likely to fail.

The case of University College Business School, on the other hand, points out how meanings attached to certain practices do not remain solely with those practices. As the case of promotions at University College Business School illustrates, professional and collegiate authorities that might further inclusivity and transparency in one context do not necessarily promote similar outcomes in other settings. These different outcomes are because practices become meaningful in the context of other ongoing practices (Rouse, 2007). Therefore, while collegiate and professional authorities allow a department to align with the ideals of inclusivity and diversity, this is not necessarily applicable across the faculty and University College as a whole. Thus, this research warns against 'miracle' solutions in which new practices and approaches are introduced to organisations based on the assumption that they result in similar outcomes in all cases.

The second point regarding how the definition of academic work might shape academic career trajectories emerged from the comparison of State University Business School and University College Business School. This research indicates that how academic work is described and rewarded in official contexts, such as the RAE/REF or the universities core funding formula, provides the basis for the managerial authority that shapes the context and conditions of career agency. As research and teaching are assessed and treated

increasingly as separate activities, the shifts between teaching and research positions and the subsequent flexibility in academic careers have been somewhat lost. While the situation at State University Business School is far from ideal because of the high percentage of temporary contracts, the perceived flexibility associated with academic research makes it a choice for those with young families. Regarding practical implications, this offers a clear message: if the aim is to retain academic careers as an exciting route for talented people, the conditions of academic work must maintain a certain flexibility that accommodates changing personal circumstances and the undulating rhythms of care in people's lives (Sabelis, 2010). As Altbach (1998) warned in the 1990s, if the working conditions in academia worsen too much, academia might not be able to attract the best candidates.

10.3 Limitations of this research

In the previous chapters, the limitations were discussed by highlighting the concerns related to the notions of career agency and capital, and how these could further the individualistic framing of careers, as noted in Section 4.4. The limitations related to the research methodology were discussed in Section 5.6, in which I pointed out the limitations of qualitative research regarding generalisability. As the empirical results are specific to a certain temporal and spatial context, the practical implications of my research emerge from analytical generalisation (Yin, 2014; Firestone, 1993). In contrast to formal generalisability based on large samples (Flyvbjerg, 2006), this research does not make context-independent and long-lasting knowledge claims. Thus, as I point out in the previous section, the conceptual framework and the introduction of practice-based

studies to career research provide the starting point for further work. Consequently, the limitations of this research relate to how the conceptual framework was developed.

As I mention in Section 4.4, conceptual frameworks emerge from the interface of existing research and theoretical underpinnings, as well as the actual research practice. Thus, the development of conceptual frameworks is not solely a matter of theoretical consideration but is shaped by the type of data the researcher has access to, and how she draws on the existing studies. The limitations of this research can be divided into two categories, the first of which concerns how research methods are operationalised during data collection, and the second involves what I call 'grey areas' in qualitative research. These areas are those whose influence on research inquiry is difficult or even impossible to assess.

The issue of research methods is related to how the selected research sites might have biased the analysis. This issue emerged because of the low number of cases. Thus, although my analysis of State University Business School and University College Business School concurs with existing studies, the listed differences of adventitious and positional organisational career contexts might still be specific for the selected research sites, rather than reflecting more general patterns. Another point highlighting how collected data shapes concept development is the sampling of the interviewees and how this affects the analysis. As I point out in Section 5.6, the sampling drew on career stages rather than organisational roles; thus, I was unable to acquire first-hand information about the research leadership at University College Business School and had to rely on documents.

However, a more pressing issue is the obvious lack of attention to disciplinary fields. As I discus in Section 4.4, the decision to omit disciplinary communities emerged from the initial framing of this research. However, this decision also shaped how I worked towards my conceptual model. While the lack of attention to disciplinary communities could be excused by pointing out that academic careers take place in academic organisations, there are indications that academic careers are embedded in disciplinary communities in the UK (Strike and Tylor, 2008). The relevance of exploring how academic careers emerge in the disciplinary fields involves exploring whether and how the academic profession remains coherent as academics become more diversified (Musselin, 2007). As academics and their activities are currently specialised to the extent that teaching or research-focused trajectories and third-space professionals, whose primary role is administration, have emerged (Strike, 2010; Whitchurch, 2008), it is relevant to ask what type of role do disciplinary communities play for those whose career trajectories depart from the research and teaching pathways. Therefore, the proposed conceptual framework, and how it is applied in this research inquiry, provides only a limited perspective to the academic career context.

However, in addition to the operationalisation of research methods, there is the second issue of 'grey areas', by which I refer to areas in research whose influence on research analysis cannot be captured accurately. As I note in Section 5.6, there is the question of translation and how the shifts between two languages might have unwittingly shape the data analysis. Another point is temporal bias. As the empirical data were collected in a certain period, the influence of more-recent developments, such as the implementation of the Teaching Excellence Framework in the English higher education section in 2015–16

(Gunn, 2018), or the temporary removal of the index increase for university funding between 2016 and 2019 in Finland (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2015), are not assessed in this research inquiry. While this criticism could be excused by noting that this research does not attempt to suggest generalisable knowledge, the point is that interviews are a product their time. As the results of REF 2014 had just been published at the time of interviews in late 2014, this might have shaped the type of issues raised in the interviews at University College Business School. Similarly, State University College Business School had just finished an appraisal round. As one of the explored points was the expectations placed on academic work, the issues of salaries or the REF might have been more prevalent than normal. As authorities aim to capture the underpinning legitimations for how academic activities are organised, there can be biases that emerge from what happened prior to and during the interviews.

10.4 Final Thoughts: Navigating between Persian rugs and publication pipelines

In this chapter, I summarise this research inquiry and discuss its implications both for further research and policy, as well as its limitations. As I point out in the previous chapter, the main contribution of this research is the conceptual framework that underpins the data analysis. Thus, the limitations are related to the qualitative methods, the selected research sites, and the interview sampling and the timing of interviews, which shaped the type of data used when working towards the conceptual framework. However, while this research cannot offer generalisable knowledge as such, further work can be undertaken regarding exploring whether and how the notions of the labourisation of academic work

and the conversion of cultural career capital can be used to address other settings. Moreover, the tenets of practice-based studies might provide new routes for exploring how to adopt a contextual turn in career research (Inkson et al., 2012; Tams and Arthur; 2010). In the field of gender studies, this research directs attention towards how gender practices are approached in research analysis; instead of framing genders as a cause for exclusion, attention could be paid to how gender becomes consequential.

While this research does not necessarily provide a basis for best practices to be applied in other contexts, it does warn against 'miracle' solutions in which new practices are introduced based on the assumption that meanings are permanently attached to practices and produce the same outcomes when introduced in new settings. As mentioned above, the streamlining of the internal organisation at State University Business School did not necessarily result in dynamism but might have increased diversification amongst academics. At the same time, while collegiality at University College Business School is fostered in committees and School Board meetings, the very same practices can become tools for exclusion, as the case of promotions illustrates.

To conclude, when academic careers are discussed, either in research or public discussions, there is a tendency to prescribe academic careers in individualistic terms, emphasising the competitive dimensions or feelings of loss and nostalgia. I initially followed this path also, as my issues concerned hierarchies and new managerialism. However, over the course of this research, my understanding of what happens in academia became increasingly nuanced. On the one hand, it is academics themselves who engage in publication games and increase the divisions between those who engage in

academic labour and those in proper work, whatever the latter means. On the other hand, while not everyone makes it to the ‘rooms with Persian rugs’, and the ‘publication pipeline certainly hangs on some walls’, there are other corridors that have their doors open, and there are benign and supportive colleagues and mentors who not only teach you how to survive in academia, but also how to thrive. Ultimately, while the vignette at the beginning of this thesis began by noting how a publication pipeline had replaced the portraits, there were also the academic women who filled the corridor with friendly chatter and laughter. Therefore, instead of framing this research as a story of loss, I end this thesis by emphasising the hope that still resides within academic communities and the critical voices that questions the rationale behind publication pipelines.

Appendix 1: Interview Protocol

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1 The career

The – if I was wondering if you could tell me about you career -

1 a When and why did you decide to pursue a career in academia?

1 b Could you explain what your role in a business school is and how you came to be in this role?

1 c How long have you held this position? Is it permanent?

1 d What did you do before this position?

1 e What were your expectations of working in academe? Has the reality been different?

---

2 Reflecting on career progress

2 a What have been the major incidents that have shaped your career?

2 b Who have been the people that influenced your career? And why these people?

2 c What have been the main struggles in your career?

2 d How did you overcome these struggles?

2 e Do you find any tensions between your career and you're out of work life? If so what are these?

---

3 Working practices

3 a What do you do on a day to day basis—what tasks constitute your daily work life? (CHANGED If you met someone who did know nothing about academic work how would you explain what you do on daily basis?)

(ADDED and if you think from your institution's point of view, which of these activities is most valued?)

3 b What are the most important tasks? (DROPPED)

3 c What are the tasks you enjoy most? And which least?

(IN FINLAND: what are the tasks you enjoy most and which one are those you want to delay to tomorrow or later?)

3 d Who are the main characters in your daily work life? (Who has greatest influence on your work?)

3 e How do you set your goals and objectives for the tasks that face you?

3 f What are the key means by which you know how successful you are in your work?

(CHANGED: how do you know you are successful in or succeed in your work)

3 g To whom are you accountable?

3 h Who defines how successful you are, for instance, do you have appraisals?

(DROPPED)

3 i Are there aspects in your work that make you stay awake during the nights?

(DROPPED)

---

4 The business school/management in it

4 a Who are seen as 'the managers' in this business school? (are there managers?)

4 b In practice, how are decisions made in this business school?

(in Finnish interviews: matters of teaching, research projects, hiring)

4 c How would you describe the management in this business school?

Then if you think your daily work -

4 d How does management influence your daily work life? (DROPPED)

4 e How do you like to be managed? (DROPPED)

4 f Based on your experience does management in this business school lead to competition or collaboration? Can you give examples of this?

---

5 Gender and future

5 a Based on your experience is the management in this business school gender blind? Or does gender make a difference here in this business school?

5 b Is there a glass ceiling for women in this institution?

Final Questions –

5 c Do you think your career would have been different if you had been a man? If so, how and why?

5 d What are your own career ambitions for the future?

5 e (ADDED what kind of advice you would give a young woman thinking about a career in academia)

5 Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix 2: Ethical approval and the consent form

The research for this project was submitted for ethics consideration under the reference BUS 14/ 021 in the Business School and was approved under the procedures of the University of Roehampton's Ethics Committee on 10 September 2014.

University of Roehampton
London

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project:
Managing Women. Gender and Management in Business Schools

Brief Description of Research Project, and What Participation Involves:

This research explores how recent changes in university management have shaped academic working conditions, and how the careers of academic women have been influenced by these changes. This study is part of Universities in the Knowledge Economy (UNIKE), a four year collaborative research project investigating the dynamic relationships between universities and knowledge economies in Europe. Participation in this study will increase our understandings of how university management can be used in promoting gender equality.

For this research project, I will interview academic women. The interviews will last for a maximum 90 minutes and the interview will include questions about your academic career, how you have been able to build your career, which factors have facilitated or hindered your career, and academic working conditions that have changed in your institution or in previous institutions you worked in.

The interview will be digitally recorded and fully transcribed. The transcript will be sent to you to comment on. You will also be provided with the possibility to check out how you are quoted. The data will be stored for 10 years in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and with the University's Data Protection Policy.

Investigator Contact Details:

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Consent Statement:

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point without giving a reason, although if I do so I understand that my data might still be used in a collated form. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings, and that data will be collected and processed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and with the University's Data Protection Policy.

Name ...

Signature

Date .....

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the investigator (or if the researcher is a student you can also contact the Director of Studies.) However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department.

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TUTKITTAVAN TIEDOTE JA SUOSTUMUSASIAKIRJA

Tutkimuksen Nimi:
Managing Women. Gender and Management in Business Schools

Tutkimuksen Kuvaus:

Tämä tutkimus tarkastelee, miten viimeaikaiset muutokset yliopistohallinnossa ovat muuttaneet akateemista työtä ja miten akateemiset naiset ovat rakentaneet akateemisia uriaan muuttuvissa työoloisuhteissa. Väitöskirjatutkimukseni on osa Euroopan Unionin rahoittamaa tutkimusyhteistyöprojektia Universities in Knowledge Economy (UNIKE). UNIKE tarkastelee yliopistojen muuttuvaa roolia tietotaloudessa.

Tutkimustani varten haastattelen suomalaisia ja englantilaisia, kauppakorkeakoulussa työskenteleviä akateemisia naisia. Haastattelut kestävät enintään 90 minuuttia. Haastattelun aikana esitän urakehitykseen liittyviä kysymyksiä, kuten mitkä tekijät ovat joko edesauttaneet taikka haitanneet akateemisen uran rakentamista ja miten esimerkiksi yliopistohallinto vaikuttaa päivittäisiin työtehtäviin. Osallistuminen tähän tutkimukseen lisää ymmärrystämme siitä, miten korkeakoulujen hallinnolla voidaan edistää sukupuolten välistä tasa-arvoa yliopistoissa.

Haastattelu nahoitetaan ja litteroidaan. Litteroitu haastattelu lähetetään teille tarkistettavaksi. Siinä tapauksessa että käytän haastatteluanne joko väitöskirjassani taikka muussa julkaisussa, teille annetaan mahdollisuus tarkistaa kuinka teihin viitataan.

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Suostumuslauseke:
Annan suostumukseni osallistua tähän tutkimukseen. Ymmärrän, että minulla oikeus peruuttaa suostumus ja keskeyttää tutkimukseen osallistuminen milloin tahansa tutkimuksen keston aikana. Olen kuitenkin tietoinen siitä, että minusta keskeyttämiseen mennessä kerättyjä tietoja voidaan käyttää vertailuaineistona. Kaikki minusta tutkimuksen aikana kerättävät tiedot käsitellään luottamuksellisesti ja tutkimuksessa kerätyt tiedot esitetään siten, että identiteettini suojataan. Olen tietoinen siitä, että aineosto tallennetaan kymmeneksi vuodeksi Data Protection 1998 (UK) Tietosuojalain ja yliopiston, University of Roehampton, tietosisältöasetuksen mukaisesti.

Nimi .....

Allekirjoitus .....

Päiväys .....

Siinä tapauksessa, että teillä on tutkimukseen osallistumiseen liittyviä kysymyksiä, voitte ottaa yhteyttä väitöskirjaohjaajani, Professori Rebecca Bodeniin. Jos haluatte keskustella puolueettoman osapuolen kanssa, voitte kääntyä Business Schoolin virkaa toimittavan johtajan Professori Julie Hallin puoleen.

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Appendix 3: The description of documents collected

Finland	a) Universities Act 2009 Documents related to the Universities' Salary System from the Association of Finnish Independent Education Employers, the Government Documents related to the development and implementation of the four-stage research career system from Ministry of Education Documents related to universities core funding from Ministry of Education and Ministry of Education and Culture Documents related to science policy and research evaluations from Ministry of Education and Culture, and Academy of Finland. Sairausvakuutuslaki 21.12.2004/1224 Laki lasten kotihoidon ja yksityisen hoidon tuesta 20.12.1996/1128 b) General collective agreement for universities 1 April 2014 to 31 January 2017 Job demands chart for teaching and research staff Yliopistojen työehtosopimus – Finlex (General agreement for Universities) Universities Act 558/2009 Käsikirja yliopistojen uudesta palkkausjärjestelmästä (Handbook for the new Universities Salary System) Audit of the University 2015 Yliopiston henkilöstökertomus 2014 (University's Personnel Report) Yliopiston johtosääntö (University's Statutes) Yliopiston Laatukäsikirja (University's quality handbook) Yliopiston Strategia (University's Strategy) 2013-2016 / 2016 - 2020 Kauppakorkeakoulun Strategia (Business Schools strategy) Yliopiston tasekirja 2016 c) Vipunen tietokanta Kota tietokanta (I was provided a spreadsheet via email)

England	a) Documents related to teaching from Department for Business, Innovation, and Skills, Higher Education Academy, and HEFCE Documents related to Research Assessment Framework and Research Excellence Framework from Higher Education Funding Council for England. UK Quality Code for Higher Education Part A: Setting and Maintaining Academic Standards Documents related to university management from HEFCE White and Green papers related to higher education from Department for Business, Innovation, and Skills. Legal documents, such as Higher Education Acts. b) The University Act Institutional audit Institutional audit : Annex to the report Internal Audit Guide Equality Monitoring Data Employment Report Departmental Promotions Committees Promotion Frameworks: Professorial Band Pay Senior Lecturer and Reader Senior Lecturer teaching track Probation policy c) Hesa statistics Hefce statistics Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) reports

Appendix 4: The project description of UNIKE

Universities in the Knowledge Economy was a European Union funded (ITN) research project which ran from 2013 to January 2017.

Project title: University management and gender

Objectives:

To explore university leadership as a complex relationship between personal biographies, institutional arrangements and policy developments, with a particular emphasis on gender diversity

Tasks and methodology:

This comparative case study of Denmark and the UK, will be in three phases:

• mapping leadership activities and training in the case study countries

• qualitative analysis through a large scale survey and participant observation in 2-4 universities of the complex meanings of leadership at play in universities, especially if and how they draw on management literature, and how they are inflected by (equally contested) ways of thinking about academic organisation

• contribution to a broader international comparison of universities in Europe and the Asia Pacific Rim

Results:

· Results to contribute to work package 3

· Presentation to Roehampton or Porto Workshop

· Paper to Auckland Winter/Summer School

Dissemination:

· A thesis and two articles submitted to international peer-reviewed journals.

· Papers at two international conferences.

· Two publications in different genres (e.g. blog and newspaper article)

· Participation in organising one UNIKE summer school or workshop

Planned secondment:

Professor Jill Blackmore, Deakin University, Australia. ESR8 will be seconded to Professor Blackmore's team for short periods.

Appendix 5: The list of interviewees

The interviewees at State University Business School			
Code	**Position**	**Years in academic employment**	**Contract type**
HL	Project researcher	< 10 years	fixed-term
IM	Professor	< 20 years	Permanent
JN	University teacher	> 5 years	fixed-term
KO	University lecturer	> 10 years	fixed-term
LP	Professor	< 20 years	Permanent
ST	Specialist researcher	> 10 years	fixed-term
NS	University teacher	> 10 years	Permanent
OR	University lecturer	> 20 years	Permanent
PU	University lecturer	> 20 years	Permanent
RV	University lecturer	> 20 years	fixed-term
SY	University lecturer	> 20 years	Permanent
TE	Professor	> 20 years	Permanent
LK	Post-doc	> 10 years	fixed-term
VI	University lecturer	> 10 years	fixed-term
YJ	Specialist researcher	> 10 years	fixed-term
NA not mentioned in the interview. > more than x years, < less than x years 13 interviewees mentioned having children.			

The interviewees at University College Business School			
Code	**Position**	**Years in academic employment**	**Contract type**
JE	Lecturer	> 5 years	Permanent
PK	Reader	> 15 years	Permanent
LG	Lecturer	> 5 years	Permanent
DH	Senior Lecturer	> 20 years	Permanent
UQ	Professor	>20 years	Permanent
OF	Professor	> 20 years	Permanent
KF	Professor	< 20 years	Permanent
QL	Senior Lecturer	> 20 years	Permanent
RN	Lecturer	> 5 years	permanent
SL	Professor	< 20 years	permanent
NA not mentioned in the interview. > more than x years, < less than x years 4 interviewees mentioned their children in the interviews.			

Appendix 6: Academic staff in Finland in 1988, 1997, 2007 and 2017 and England in 1982-83, and in the UK in 1996-97, 2006-07 and 2016-17

Table A6.1 The distribution of women and men across academic positions in Finland in 1988							
	Women		Men		In total	Percentage of men and women	
						Women%	Men%
In total	1989	100%	4110	100%	6098	32.61%	67.39%
Professors and Associate professors	190	9.55%	1503	36.57%	1693	11.22%	88.78%
Senior Assistants	94	4.73%	294	7.15%	388	24.16%	75.84%
Lecturers	755	37.96%	946	23.02%	1701	44.38%	55.62%
Assistants	613	30.82%	1130	27.49%	1743	35.17%	64.83%
Instructors	337	16.94%	236	5.74%	573	58.81%	41.19%

Based on KOTA 1981 – 2009. The percentages have been calculated and rounded up by the author..

Table A6.2 The distribution of women and men across academic positions in Finland in 1997

	Women		Men		In total	Percentage of	
						Women%	Men%
In total	2545	100%	4265	100%	7706	37.4%	62.4%
Professors and Associate professors	376	14.8%	1750	41.0%	2126	17.7%	82.3%
Senior Assistants	206	8.1%	480	11.3%	686	30.0%	70.0%
Lecturers	1068	42.0%	879	20.6%	1947	54.9%	45.1%
Assistants	675	26.5%	1046	24.5%	1721	39.2%	60.8%
Instructors	220	8.6%	110	2.6%	330	66.7%	33.3%
Hourly teaching	-	-	-	-	896	-	-

Based on KOTA 1981 – 2009 and Opetusministeriö (2003). The percentages have been calculated and rounded up by the author.

Table A6.3 The number of work years done in Finland in 2007 by academic staff							
	Women		**Men**		**In total**	**Percentage of**	
						Women%	**Men%**
In total	2908	100%	4066	100%	7861	41.7%	58.3%
Professors	538	18.5%	1751	43.0%	2289	23.5%	76.5%
Senior Assistants	271	9.3%	415	10.2%	686	39.5%	60.5%
Lecturers	1400	48.1%	1322	32.6%	2722	51.4%	48.6%
Assistants	565	19.5%	489	12.0%	1054	53.6%	46.4%
Instructors	134	4.6%	89	2.2%	223	60.0%	40.0%
Hourly teaching	--		--		887	-	-

Based on KOTA 1981 – 2009 and Opetusministeriö (2008) The percentages have been calculated and rounded up by the author.

Table A6.4 The number of work years done in Finland in 2017 by academic staff							
	Women		**Men**		**In total**	**Percentage of**	
						Women%	**Men%**
In total	10623	100.0%	11568	100.0%	22191	47.8%	52.2%
Professors	831	7.8%	1917	16.6%	2748	30.2%	69.7%
University Lecturers	978	9.2%	831	7.2%	1809	54.1%	45.9%
Lecturers	1719	16.3%	1035	8.9%	2754	62.4%	37.6%
Teachers	195	1.8%	195	1.7%	390	50.0%	50.0%
Researchers	2739	25.8%	3216	27.8%	5955	46.0%	54.0%
Doctoral students	2235	21.0%	2673	23.1%	4908	45.5%	54.5%
Research and teaching assistants	1926	18.1%	1701	14.7%	3627	53.1%	46.9%
Based on Vipunen (2017). The percentages have been calculated and rounded up by the author.							

Table A6.5 Full-time academic staff by grade and gender in England and in Wales in 1982-83							
	Women		**Men**		**Total**	**Percentage of**	
						Women%	**Men%**
Total	5123	100%	30741	100%	35864	14.28%	85.71%
Professors	85	1.65%	3434	11.17%	3519	2.41%	97.58%
Readers and Senior Lecturers	488	9.52%	6860	22.31%	7348	7.11%	93.35%
Lecturers and Assistant lecturers	3532	68.94%	18324	59.60%	21856	16.16%	83.83%
Others	1018	19.87%	2123	6.90%	3141	32.21%	67.58%
Based on Universities' Statistical Record (1983). Percentages calculated by the author.							

Table A6.6 Full-time academic staff by grade and gender in the UK in 1996/97							
	Women		**Men**		**Total**	**Percentage of**	
						Women%	**Men%**
Total	33326	100%	77448	100%	110774	30.0%	70.0%
Professors	771	2.3%	8226	10.6%	8997	8.6%	91.4%
Senior Lecturers and researchers	3874	11.6%	15938	20.6%	19812	19.5%	80.5%
Lecturers	14938	44.9%	29069	37.5%	44007	33.9%	66.1%
Researchers	10643	31.9%	19052	24.6%	29695	35.8%	64.2%
Other Grades	3100	9.3%	5163	6.7%	8263	37.5%	62.5%
Based on HESA (1998). Percentages are calculated and rounded up by the author.							

Table A6.7 Full-time academic staff, by grade and gender in the UK in 2006/07							
	Women		**Men**		**Total**	**Percentage of women and men**	
						Women%	**Men%**
Total	41880	100%	71805	100%	113685	36.8%	63.2%
Professors	2600	6.2%	12320	17.2%	14920	17.4%	82.6%
Senior Lecturers and researchers	9840	23.5%	19125	26.6%	28965	34.0%	66.0%
Lecturers	13335	31.8%	17810	24.8%	31145	42.8%	57.2%
Researchers	12800	30.6%	17975	25.0%	30775	41.6%	58.4%
Other Grades	3305	7.9%	4575	6.4%	7880	41.9%	58.1%
Based on HESA (2008). Percentages are calculated by the author.							

Table A6.8 Both full-time and part-time staff on an academic contract by grade and gender in the UK in 2016/17							
	Women		**Men**		**Total**	**Percentage of women and men**	
						Women%	**Men%**
Total	90335	100%	106660	100%	196995	45.9%	54.1%
Professors	5050	5.6%	15500	14.5%	20550	24.6%	75.4%
Senior Lecturer Principal Lecture	11545	12.8%	17320	16.2%	28865	40.0%	60.0%
Lecturer B, Senior Lecturer	26625	29.5%	28210	26.4%	54835	48.6%	51.4%
Lecturer A, Lecturer	34315	38.0%	33650	31.5%	67965	50.5%	49.5%
Research and teaching assistant	12800	14.2%	11980	11.23%	24765	51.7%	48.3%
Based on Advanced HE (2018).							

Appendix 7 The summary of job requirement levels and the promotion framework

Table A7.1 The summary of job demand levels State University		
Job demand levels	**The positioning in relations to academic community**	**Responsibilities in relation to academic community**
1 -2	Doctoral research with some additional research activities	Supervised teaching related to doctoral studies
3-4	From doctoral research towards independent research	From supervised teaching to BA and MA student support.
5 -6 Research focused position	Increasing independency in research	Increase in the roles of research leadership, applying research funding, and organising research groups. Engagement with university administration. Scientific and societal specialist roles.
5 -6 Teaching focused position	Increasing independency in teaching	From independent teaching activities to taking responsibility over discipline, and involvement planning of teaching.
7	Research and teaching activities are valued by university community	Ability to be take over responsibilities over a discipline, teaching and research activities, involvement in postgraduate education. Scientific and societal specialist roles. Networking within one's field.
8-11	From highly valued teaching and research activities to top level teaching and research active.	Extensive responsibilities over higher education, planning and organising projects, creating and maintaining networks both nationally and internationally.
Source: General collective agreement for universities 1 April 2014 to 31 January 2017 -Job demands chart for teaching and research staff		

Table A7.2 The summary of evaluation scale State University Business School			
	Pedagogical merit	**Research merit**	**University community and social merit**
1 -2	A substantial need for improvement		
3-4	Satisfies the basic requirements, some aspects are in need of improvement		
5 -6	The job requirements and the objectives are met well.		
7-8	All requirements are met very well.		
9	The performance clearly exceeds all requirements and objectives		
Source: General collective agreement for universities 1 April 2014 to 31 January 2017			

Table A7.3 The summary of promotion framework University College				
	Teaching and research contracts			
	Teaching	Research	Service	
			External	Internal
Distinguished professor	HEA Principal Fellow or equal	World leading research	Lead advisor	Facilitating University's strategic goals
Established professor	Having an influence on pedagogy	Outstanding international research profile	Continuous public dissemination	Contribution to strategic goals
Professor	Excellent learning activities Management of programmes	International research profile	Knowledge transfer Third stream income	On-going contribution to administration within University Mentoring of academic staff
Reader		High impact outputs and high standing within academic community		
Senior Lecturer	High performance (peer review / student feedback)	High-level outputs	Application of knowledge outside academia Third stream income	Faculty and University level administration
Based on: Promotion frameworks: professorial band pay structure, reader, senior lecturer				

Table A7.4 The summary of promotion framework University College: Teaching focused contracts				
	Teaching focused contracts			
	Teaching	Research	Service	
			External	Internal
Senior Lecturer	High performance in teaching (peer review/ student feedback)	Significant input to curriculum or discipline through teaching aids	Teaching activities elsewhere; organising and maintaining networks	Engagement with administration within Department and activities within University

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